

SPANISH DOCUMENTS
CONCERNING ENGLISH VOYAGES
TO THE CARIBBEAN

1527-1568



SELECTED
FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE
INDIES AT SEVILLE

BY

I. A. WRIGHT, B.A., F.R.HIST.S.

FELLOW OF THE
DUTCH ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UTRECHT

LONDON

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

1929

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Portion of a map by Diego Homem showing Central America and the West Indies, 1568	<i>at end</i>

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The Hakluyt Society

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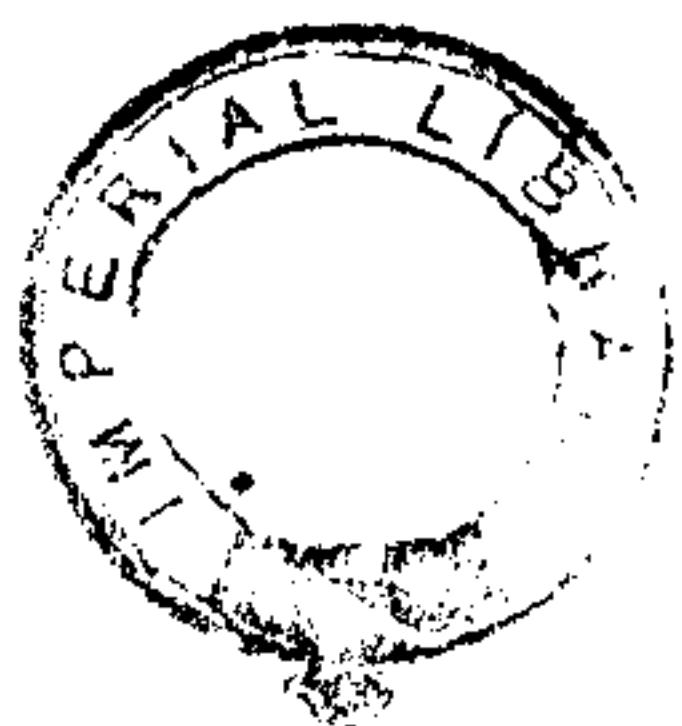
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Y despues que nesi dñ credm auendo por tesorero de N. m. que ha mas de quatorze años siempre ha ido
 con conquistas de fiances y presas y otros enemigos que dan a qui heredaria batalla y como esta tan lejos
 maz a esta tierra y respondeza de lo que es necesario para guerra ponerla en suya vez en peligro y es
 pecialmente en el año de sesenta y siete proximos de mayo labino a conquistar Juan de buon tiempo
 general de 10. nabis fiances y enemigos apesar de resarcir y sin que quemaria el pueblo y la acobija-
 tos y desimularon con el un dia nroq; las mujeres y ninos y gente y natal amicaria don r
 los mantuvieron en el necesario amio costa y puse a punto la de mas gente y salimos al asedio que
 abia cesenbarido con 2000 hombres y mucha artilleria y con la poca que en esta tierra ay.
 Dimos sobre ellos y los vencimos de suerte que fueron huyendo y a toda fuerza se resarcieron
 asus nabis y dieron velas y huyeron y dieron sobre santa maria a donde dieron la nrocion
 y un nabo muy bueno de la flora y des de a pochos dias bino otra gruesa armada regale-
 nos y nabis de yngleses de que bino por general Juan Bober y hizo grandes apresamientos
 para resarcir el pueblo y visto que no se le consintia batieron mucha artilleria sobre
 nos otros de los quales nos defendimos de suerte que los ofendimos hasta hacerlos huir
 Y esta suerte han tenido muchas guerras con otros y otros de que publican estan tan comunes
 que han de juntar grandes armadas para prenderme y asolar esta ciudad en lo qual yo
 heterido al dñ dñ que debo a vro real servicio y mi costa hago y hare la defensa de la
 dñ ciudad con todas mis fuerzas y paciencia en dñ a vro N. m. para que sepa
 lo que en esto pasa y la voluntad que tengo de encero y todo lo que se ofresca. bñ
 y morir en su servicio y gastar en ello lo que tengo y para que se acuerde tan importante pa-
 rante alguna mas defensa quella que ay quedado ay poca semana de probar lo que N. m.
 mandare cuya bñ guia de mñ senor con acuscamiento de muchos mas reynos como
 sus ciudades de escamos del río dela hasta a primero de enero de 1568

c. R. m.

bajo los reales pies de N. m.
— sumano ciudad.

Miguel de castellanos

53-6-12

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PREFACE

THE documents here translated and edited I found in the course of investigations made into materials for history preserved in the Archives of the Indies, during the fourteen years of my residence at Seville. When the number and importance of those so come upon by chance, while in search of something else, seemed to suggest their publication, I devoted a little time to looking for more, with the result that we have in this book, I think, a set of documents for which Richard Hakluyt would have travelled far indeed, despite the difficulties which beset such zeal as his in those days. What, for instance, would not Hakluyt have given for Don Martin Enriquez' own account of the battle at San Juan de Ulua? We have it here (in Document 27 *post*). What a figure of John Hawkins emerges from a comparison of it with Hawkins' story of the same affair, the preservation of which we owe to Hakluyt!

In fine, it seemed to me especially appropriate that the Hakluyt Society should include these particular documents in its series of publications, and for patient and skilful assistance in making my presentation of them worthy of that honour, I am very much indebted to the Society's esteemed late President, Sir Albert Gray, and to Sir William Foster, who took up the matter where Sir Albert's hands unwillingly laid it aside, shortly indeed before his lamented death.

The originals of these documents are in a good state of preservation, as may be seen from the specimen page (the original of Document No. 18 *post*) given as a frontispiece.

I may mention that for convenience in my work photo copies were made of many of the documents in this collection, and of some others which were eventually excluded; and that this set of pictures has been presented to the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum, where it will not only be available to students, but will also serve as a small token of my indebtedness to the courteous officials both of that Department and of the Reading Room, where I was privileged to consult secondary sources.

Besides a sketch map, it has been thought desirable to give a specimen of the current cartography of the West Indies, and for this purpose choice has been made of a portion of one sheet of the *Atlas* of Diego Homem, 1568, now in the Public Library at Dresden. This portion has been reproduced, by permission of Herr Karl W. Hiersemann, from the *Kartographische Denkmäler*, edited by Hantzsch and Schmidt, and published at Leipzig in 1903.

Finally, I wish to thank Mr H. P. Biggar, whose experience, generously shared, first showed me not only the value of the documents I had found at Seville, but the advisability of putting them into book form.

And to the present staff of the Archives of the Indies—custodians of an exhaustless mine of materials for the history of the Western World, and of Europe's participation in it—I desire to express my appreciation of their unfailing friendship.

If the appearance of this volume serves to draw the attention of the present generation of British historians to the importance of the great collections of documents preserved in Spain, which, despite recent and lamentable restrictions, are nevertheless more or less open to them, I shall consider myself richly rewarded for the labour this book represents.

IRENE A. WRIGHT

SEVILLE 1928

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INTRODUCTION

THE Caribbean Sea, the Spanish Main and the Gulf of Mexico were the scene of an important part of the struggle for world-supremacy in which Spain and England engaged through the 16th century. In his *Principal Navigations* Richard Hakluyt has preserved to posterity the English version of that portion of the conflict. To assemble corresponding documents for her account of the matter Spain had no Hakluyt, but in the government offices of Seville and Madrid the bureaucratic spirit of the time accumulated and conserved exhaustive records concerning every event. The multitudinous papers so collected have become the archives of Spain. Those referring to the Americas and to the islands of the Pacific have been segregated to form the General Archives of the Indies, at Seville. From the wealth of materials for history there available the documents herewith presented have been drawn. They set forth the Spanish version of the struggle in the Indies in its first two phases, which were reconnaissance and trade.

In 1527 the English presented themselves in the Indies as explorers—the first foreigners to invade Spain's New World. Some grounds exist for the belief¹ that the English ship which sailed southward along the North Atlantic seaboard, crossed toward Porto Rico, called at La Mona on November 19, 1527, appeared off Santo Domingo city on the 25th following, and on the 26th departed in the direction of Europe, was the *Mary Guildford*, surviving vessel of two with which John Rut made a voyage in this year from England to America.

¹ Biggar, H. P., "An English Expedition to America in 1527," *Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont*, Paris, 1913.

Certainly there are many points of similarity between Rut's voyage, in so far as known, and that described by the master of the English vessel which visited Santo Domingo. Rut sailed far north, was driven back by cold, possibly lost an Italian pilot killed by aborigines ashore, and continued southward; but the date¹ of Rut's clearance from Plymouth (June 10) and the approximate date (February) of this vessel's clearance, as stated by its master, do not agree; nor could the latter have reached England, since he was off Hayti in November, by the presumed date of Rut's return (October?). Witnesses who visited the English ship at Santo Domingo seem to describe not the *Mary Guildford*, but a warship of larger size. Rut is not known to have reported on the Spanish islands concerning which the master of that vessel took written note. On the other hand, it has been argued² that this vessel was not Rut's, but some other which never saw England again. The Spanish documents which the editor has seen do not give the English master's name. Until this is found, or until more is known of the *Mary Guildford*, it would seem that the question of this ship's identity must be left an open question.

The chief available source for the 1527 voyage (Document No. 1, *post*) is to be found in the *Archivo General de Indias*, 53-1-9³. This shows that after the English ship had taken its unexpected departure from Santo Domingo the judges of the *Audiencia* blamed the warden of his majesty's fortress, Francisco de Tapia, for their failure to seize it. To prove charges against him they took certain depositions the very day the ship left, based, as usual, upon a questionnaire⁴. Meanwhile, to clear himself, Tapia had other depositions taken, which he sent to Spain along with the copy furnished him of three of those taken by the judges, and it is Tapia's

¹ Biggar, H. P., *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, Ottawa, 1911, p. xxix.

² Kirkpatrick, F. A., "The First Recorded English Voyage to the West Indies," *English Historical Review*, xx, pp. 115 *et seq.*

³ An unsatisfactory transcript of this document was published in *Documentos Inéditos*, Madrid, 1883, XL, pp. 315 *et seq.*

⁴ For these depositions and the *Audiencia's* report in the matter, unavailing search has been made at Seville.

certified copy of these depositions which constitutes Document No. 1 of this collection. Moreover, in Santo Domingo a council was held and certain religious who were going to Spain were instructed to inform his majesty concerning the incident and of its possible consequences. In referring to their intervention later (Document No. 3, *post*) Licentiates Espinoza and Zuazo show that the danger of further aggression which the English visit might involve was the point the religious were to stress. There exist various *cédulas*¹ of reply to communications in the matter (Document No. 2, *post*, among them) which show the effect in Spain of the news of this first foreign reconnaissance of the Indies.

It will be recalled that immediately following upon Columbus' discovery of America, Pope Alexander VI in his bull *Inter Caetera*, 1493, acting "by the authority of Almighty God," gave to Ferdinand and Isabel and to their heirs and successors to the crowns of Castile and Leon, that portion of the New World within which lie the Caribbean, its coasts and islands; and he strictly forbade "all persons of no matter what rank, estate, degree, order, or condition," to dare without their special permit "to go for the sake of trade or any other reason whatsoever to the said islands and countries after they have been discovered." Upon this grant of dominion Spain established her threefold monopoly—political, religious and commercial—of the Western World.

Ferdinand and Isabel devoutly believed that the Indies, meaning the whole western hemisphere (and the Pacific, always excepting Portugal's part), were the God-given patrimony of Castile and Leon². The right of the people of Navarre to the same privilege was disputed, perhaps to the date of their specific habilitation in 1553. Clearly, the mere presence of the English in Santo Domingo city was a violation of Castile's political monopoly and because they violated it

¹ *A. de I. 139-1-7, XIII, ff. 258, 258 r., 259 r., cédulas* dated March 27, 1528, in reply to the authorities at San Juan de Puerto Rico, to Treasurer Pasamonte, to Warden Tapia.

² *Por Castilla y por Leon, Nuevo Mundo halló Colon.* These familiar words are the very essence of Spanish policy in America. Aragon was already incorporated with Castile.

by being there, the burghers of the place talked of hanging them.

The religious monopoly of the Catholic Church was not challenged by the arrival of the English at this date, as it was to be menaced by the calls of their successors after the Separation. Although the cargo of cloths, etc., which these first visitors exhibited, keenly interested the Spanish colonials, it was not particularly evident that their advent threatened the commercial monopoly which Seville was presently so mercilessly to enforce. Not as heretics or as traders, but as foreigners who infringed a political monopoly would the burghers of Santo Domingo have laid hands upon these strangers who ventured into a quarter of the earth which God had given exclusively to Castile, Leon and Aragon.

So unprecedented, however, was this irruption of the English in the heart of Spain's New World, that Licentiates Zuazo and Lebron were unable to quote the letter of any specific law bearing immediately upon so untoward a happening. The English had no right to be there, but there they were—What was to be done? Having no instructions and lacking all precedent to guide them, his majesty's judges called representative burghers into council. To do so was in accordance with the spirit of the time, not yet reactionary in Spain's colonies although Charles had been ten years upon the throne of Castile.

Warden Tapia's precipitate action in firing the shot which occasioned the English ship's sudden clearance seems to have rendered it impossible certainly to determine what course the Spanish authorities intended to pursue with respect to her. The English master asked and received safe-conduct to enter the port and furnish his vessel. In their questionnaire the judges do not say what reason moved them to grant his request; nor do they intimate that they intended to violate his majesty's word, so pledged. The burghers wanted the ship, for they considered her suitable to carry cargo to the Main, their business with which was handicapped by lack of means of transportation. They would have liked to seize the English vessel, but their superiors in council realized that to

do this immediately and by force was not feasible. It may be inferred that in firing the shot which determined the already suspicious English not to enter the port, Tapia frustrated the judges' scheme presently to take the vessel by treachery or by violence; but in the documents so far available it is nowhere stated that such a plan was laid. When fully informed of the occurrence by his council for Indies, Charles rebuked¹ his judges for not seizing the vessel, its master and men, giving as his reasons the advisability of learning what the English ship had been doing, what her true object was, and the expediency of detaining the nationals of a foreign power with which Spain was then at war².

Charles wrote of this first reconnaissance of his Indies from the military point of view and its consequences were military, in that the colonists demanded³ and obtained means of defence because of it. It is to be observed that these were means of defence against the possibility of foreign aggression. No necessity for such had existed theretofore. In brief, Spain's American affairs were no longer domestic and colonial problems only; they had assumed a new aspect.

Already, as early as 1527, Santo Domingo's export business had outgrown the available means of transportation. During the next generation the island's material prosperity further augmented. Herds of cattle multiplied under ideal conditions of climate and pasturage; sugar-cane flourished and the number of mills increased. Owners of stock ranges and cane fields waxed rich and influential⁴. Nevertheless, they had grievances against their home government, for not only were

¹ Document No. 2, *post*. Cf. Herrera, Antonio de, *Historia General*, Madrid, 1601, Dec. II, Lib. v, cap. iii, p. 146.

² Cf. Froude, James Anthony, *History of England*, London, 1870, I, p. 145 n.: "For the moment the two countries were uncertain whether they were at war or not. The Spanish ambassador in London did not know, and the Court could not tell him." Charles was supporting Catherine of Aragon against Henry VIII, but war had not been declared. Under such circumstances the colonists in Santo Domingo could hardly be expected to know the situation.

³ Document No. 3, *post*.

⁴ According to the laws of municipal organization only landowners were eligible to seats in town councils. Through these councils the cattle and sugar industrialists exerted influence within the colony and in Spain through their general procurators.

adequate means of transportation not provided (a matter Spain controlled in her convoyed fleet system and prohibition of "loose ships") but also still other causes of complaint developed. Chief of these was that the crown's tax of 30 ducats per capita for special license¹ to import negroes into Indies made it unprofitable business to carry them to the colonies; the slave trade concessionaires therefore neglected their monopoly and in consequence not enough slaves were offered to the colonists in the open legal market. The scarcity of the only labour to be obtained at all—in fact, the scarcity of all imported goods, fully as much as high prices—was the burden of colonial complaint.

Spain's interests and those of her colonials diverged. Whereas it profited the Spanish crown materially to maintain the laws which restricted immigration, commerce and trade to Indies, it profited the colonists to break them. Sincerely believing in her divine right to monopolize the Indies and consequently to profit from them, Spain felt no compunction in maintaining laws shaped to enforce that monopoly, regardless of the continual protest they aroused. Since the colonial officials, civil, military and religious, were identified with the colonists rather than with the home country, by long association, intermarriage and identity of material interests, they exercised no influence in support of the home policy. Covert lawlessness and venality were general.

Portuguese traders out of Guinea with living cargoes of Africans frequented the sparsely populated, unpatrolled coasts of La Española. They offered negroes and other merchandise cheap. They could offer it cheap, for they had avoided customs duties, *alcabala* and license charges. Further, they offered these goods not for cash, which was scarce in the island, but in exchange for sugar and hides which were abundant, and without sufficient means of licit egress.

The situation may be easily imagined: a thinly populated fertile island with a long unpatrolled coastline; a productive sugar industry vainly demanding additional ways and means to market and clamorous for more slaves; rich colonists able

¹ Veitia Linage, Joseph de, *Norte de la Contratación*, Seville, 1672, Lib. I, cap. xxxv, p. 277.

and anxious to barter for them, possessing, too, influence sufficient to protect themselves in law-breaking; Portuguese traders out of Guinea with the very cargo wanted, loitering off shore—and nothing to hinder the transaction of business except his majesty's inconvenient prohibition. Conditions were not unlike those which are reported to exist at present along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States with respect to the liquor traffic.

Business was done, while appearances were preserved to some extent. Intricate subterfuges were invented to protect the transgressors in the investigation (*visita, comisión, or residencia*) which was likely to follow. Public opinion approved the law-breakers; but law-breakers they were, known to all and knowing themselves as such.

And now, into the general situation as above briefly suggested, in the month of March of the year 1563 sailed John Hawkins, with four vessels¹ laden with Guinea negroes and manufactured goods (linens, silks, etc.) for sale. This, his first voyage to the Indies, was the first English expedition to arrive there in demand of trade².

This was the logical development of English business, and Hawkins was logically the man to take the forward step it represented. Given his father's and his own experiences in Guinea and in Brazil, their acquaintance with the Portuguese³, and his valuable friends in the Canaries, Hawkins must necessarily have known precisely to what he was coming, in what aspect he had best present himself, what reception would be accorded him, and what market he would find. Therefore, "standing always upon his guard," he addressed⁴ himself immediately to the highest authorities in the important

¹ Cf. Document No. 5, *post*, note No. 3.

² The editor has been unable to discover in the Spanish documents at Seville any distinguishable record of a preceding trading voyage to the West Indies made by Englishmen. Cf. Mr R. C. Marsden's account of the voyage of the *Barbara*, 1540 (*English Historical Review*, xxiv, p. 96). The Spanish papers seen contain numerous references to corsairs *circa* 1540 but their nationality is not determinable.

³ Hakluyt, x, p. 7; *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas*, 1, Nos. 432, 433, pp. 660, 663.

⁴ Documents Nos. 5, etc., *post*.

seaport at which he had arrived (Puerto de Plata, on the north shore of the island of Hayti), and, acting in agreement with them, and, presently with an officer commissioned¹ by the *Audiencia* to proceed against him, Hawkins disposed of his merchandise peaceably, to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Hawkins was a threefold breaker of Spain's laws². An Englishman, i.e. a foreigner, like his predecessors of 1527, his very presence in Indies was against the law (count one) inasmuch as he had no license³ from his Catholic majesty "to pass" to those parts. Yet he had come and (count two) he had brought with him vessels carrying merchandise which had not been manifested⁴ at Seville as the laws and ordinances then in force required that it be manifested. Further, having come and so laden, Hawkins proceeded to do business (count three) as he had no right to do in Indies without an additional license from the Spanish monarch to trade⁵, which license he had not. On each and all of these counts he was liable to arrest and his goods to confiscation.

In 1527 the burghers of Santo Domingo would have hanged their English visitors because their presence was an infringement of Spain's political monopoly of the New World, but the *Audiencia* could at that time cite no law definitely auth-

¹ Document No. 6, *post.*

² In summarizing the case against Hawkins which arose out of the shipment of sugar and hides which he made from Hayti to Spain at the end of his first voyage, the counsel for the crown (*el fiscal*) states the legal situation briefly: "John Hawkins, native of England, . . . without your highness' license passed to the said Indies with ships laden with negroes and other English merchandise, thereby . . . violating ordinances and laws which your highness has emitted with respect to the manner in which goods shall be manifested . . ."—*A. de I. 51-6-15/13*, f. 116. The indictment continues, touching upon the third count.

³ Ordinance 123 of the House of Trade, contained in a *cédula*, dated at Toledo, September 22, 1560, forbids all persons, Spaniards or foreigners, of no matter what degree or condition, to cross to Indies without express permit so to do; penalty, confiscation of goods. Cf. *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, Madrid, 1681, L. IX, tit. 26, l. 1.

⁴ *Recopilación*, L. VIII, tit. 17, l. 1 (see also l. 2), *cédula*, Valladolid, April 16, 1550, declaring forfeit to the crown all unmanifested goods arriving in Indies. Ley 2, same date, includes slaves. See also L. IX, tit. 33, l. 1 (*Ordenanzas Comunes*, No. 157), Madrid, February 10, 1566, in the same sense.

⁵ Cf. *Norte de la Contratación*, Lib. I, cap. xxxi, p. 237; *Recopilación*, L. IX, tit. 27, l. 1.

rizing any procedure. Now, a generation later, against this second incursion, the *Audiencia* could quote law to warrant their arrest on the same count which had been brought against their predecessors; and still more law for the seizure of their goods, liable to confiscation because they infringed on Seville's economic monopoly of the Indies. Further, the colonists who might incline to do business with Hawkins were specially reminded¹ that these strangers were heretics, enemies of the Church as well as of the State. Officially, then, by 1563, the fight between England and Spain was joined on all three fronts: political, economic and religious.

As a matter of fact, in Indies, the Spanish colonials (because their own interests were divergent from Spain's) had no intention of enforcing any of these laws. To protect themselves against their superiors in Spain, to whom they must account, they did, however, insist upon some pretence of enforcement. And the religious convictions of the foreign merchants who sold them slaves and manufactured goods at satisfactory prices were matters of little or no moment to Spanish colonials in the Caribbean². This divergence of interests and intentions between Spain and her colonials, including among them her colonial officials, and conditions arising from it in the Indies, were what made Hawkins' expeditions possible.

English authorities³ have stated that Hawkins' adventures

¹ The authorities of Santo Domingo had been warned to expect Hawkins, and upon receipt of news that he had indeed appeared on the north coast the *Audiencia* had cried a *cédula* wherein the people were forbidden to trade with the English or furnish them supplies; on the contrary, they were to endeavour to capture them and seize their goods, "for it was suspected that their intentions were hostile, that they were Lutherans, and had come without his majesty's manifests or license"—*Ac de I.* 53-6-5, f. 292, the *Audiencia* to the crown, Santo Domingo, December 14, 1563; 51-6-15/13, f. 114 r. See also Document No. 7, *post*.

² Conditions were very different in Mexico and in Peru, where the Inquisition was active as it never was in the Caribbean.

³ Corbett, Sir Julian, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, London, 1899, I, p. 81, and note 2. See also *Camden's Annales*, London, 1625, p. 174; and *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, London, 1872, IV, part II, No. 4625, p. 2008, Cal. D. x. 370, B.M. Draft in Tuke's hand endorsed by Wolsey. The text there presented is hardly intelligible. The editor was informed at Simancas that the Spanish original is not on file among treaties in that archive.

were based on "the freedom of the high seas and the reciprocal rights of trade enjoyed by Spaniards and Englishmen in each other's ports, in virtue of the old commercial treaties between England and the House of Burgundy." In their documents the writer has seen no evidence that the Spaniards of the period under discussion considered that the English, or any other foreigners, had any rights in their colonial ports except such as might be conceded to them individually by specific personal license "to pass to Indies" or to trade there. While the Spanish held the Indies to be a kingdom distinct from others over which the crown of Spain held dominion, the English affected to consider the New World to be an integral part of a general domain. Nevertheless, neither Elizabeth nor her ministers in defending Hawkins, and their own interests, cited ancient treaties with Burgundy. Instead, they refused to recognize the pope's right to divide up the world¹; they reminded the Spanish ambassador that his compatriots enjoyed freedom to trade in her majesty's dominions; they inquired in what ports his Catholic majesty prohibited this privilege to Englishmen; they promised to respect the prohibition (thereby recognizing it); and finally they flourished in Philip's face the permits to trade which Hawkins obtained from Philip's own representatives in the Indies². Available records do not show, however, that even in their stormiest interviews with the Spanish ambassador they claimed that Hawkins had been trading in Indies otherwise than in contravention of Spanish law³.

¹ "...Cecil simply said that the Pope had no authority to divide up the world..."—Bishop Alvaro de la Quadra, Spanish ambassador, to the crown, London, November 27, 1561, in *Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Negociado de Inglaterra*, 816, f. 106. The matter immediately under discussion was the English traffic to Las Minas (Portuguese).

² *Cal. S.P., etc., Simancas*, 1, No. 386, pp. 584-8, Guzman de Silva to the crown, London, October, 1566: "Secretary Cecil sent to ask me to furnish them with a memorandum of the places where it is forbidden to trade without your Majesty's license. I sent it to him, saying that the places were all the West Indies, Continent and islands. He sent to say that the Council do not agree...." The ambassador adds that Cecil "adduced arguments of little moment," to which he replied in due course.

³ *A. de I. 47-1-11/38*, pp. 14 *et seq.* In defending themselves through their procurator against investigation into their conduct in having traded with the English, the people of Rio de la Hacha definitely set forth (p. 15)

Original documents bearing upon Hawkins' first voyage are numerous at Seville. The president of the *Audiencia*, Alonso Arias de Herrera, reported upon the incident to the crown (Document No. 5, *post*). His colleague, Licentiate Echegoyan, wrote frequently and at length of it (Documents Nos. 6 and 8, *post*). Licentiate Bernaldez made the best he could of his very questionable dealings with the Englishman (Document No. 7, *post*¹). The license to trade which he issued to Hawkins has been preserved (Document No. 4, *post*). Lawsuits arose out of the matter, in Santo Domingo and in Seville, the voluminous records of which are excellent material for history. The documents herewith presented are perhaps a fair selection from the mass.

The reader will do well to bear in mind that none is an honest statement of fact. If we are to believe his colleague, President Arias de Herrera did not tell all the truth. Judge Echegoyan himself is obviously moved by malice. Licentiate Bernaldez wrote not only to protect himself but in hope of reward for services alleged. Each party to the lawsuits had a case to prove. Nevertheless, bearing general conditions in mind, the truth can be discerned.

When Hawkins arrived at Puerto de Plata, in bidding him be gone and in advising the *Audiencia* of his arrival, the local authorities fulfilled the letter of the law in so far as it concerned them. In despatching Bernaldez with his commission to raise men and seize the intruders and their property, the *Audiencia* met the requirements of its position. In making that having resisted and being overcome by superior force, it was lawful for them to yield to such force in order to avoid greater calamities. This idea underlay the whole problem of *rescates*, i.e. contraband trade in Indies.

¹ Moreover, to prove that he had on this occasion rendered services that merited recognition, Bernaldez had certain depositions taken and these are preserved in *A. de I. 53-1-11, información, 30 pliegos*, certified copy. This document is a very important source of information concerning Hawkins' first voyage. It is based upon an *interrogatorio*, and the questions constitute a fairly well-connected story of the licentiate's career, stressing particularly his dealings with Hawkins. It is told, naturally, from the licentiate's own point of view. The *interrogatorio* is followed by the depositions of witnesses; and he summoned none not likely to support his statements. In answering the questions, however, these witnesses bring out many details of interest.

the feint of an offensive, Bernaldez kept up appearances. The only real issue between him and Hawkins was the payment of customs duties and license charges on Hawkins' cargo. An agreement having been reached on this point, Hawkins delivered to his majesty's treasurer negroes and a caravel equivalent in value to the dues demanded, and business proceeded.

The Spaniards insisted that these duties and charges must be paid by Hawkins or by his customers (see the text of the license, Document No. 4, *post*), because failure to collect them was the only count on which they were liable to be prosecuted in the course of any future investigation into their dealings with the Englishman. While it was illicit to tolerate his presence and unlawful to do business with him, nevertheless, to have tolerated him and to have done business with him were offences that would be overlooked or minimized, provided it could be shown that his majesty had lost nothing by them¹; even when they had so collected the equivalent of license and customs dues, they might claim that they had saved just that much money to the government. For his part, Hawkins was willing to pay these charges for assurance against serious molestation while he sold, and because it gave to his undertaking the healthy tone of legitimacy, so that upon his return to England he could (as he did) claim that he had traded in his Catholic majesty's ports with the authorization of his majesty's representatives². Document No. 7

¹ *A. de I.* 47-3-52/9, f. 251 r., statement of this idea on a different occasion but under identical circumstances. The 105 (or 125) slaves which Hawkins delivered to Treasurer Ceballos were the following September auctioned off, by the *Audiencia*'s order, to the very colonists who had been instrumental in obtaining them. The sum of 350,646 *reales* realized at the sale was deposited in the colonial treasury and entered on the government records as "Goods seized from the Englishman at Puerto de Plata." *A. de I.* 53-6-5, 1, f. 216 r., enclosure with Alonso Caballero's and Lope de Bardeci's communication to the crown, Santo Domingo, October 10, 1563.

² "...He now...alleges that he has committed no offence in your Majesty's seas, having only traded by permission of your Majesty's representatives..."—Guerau de Spes to the crown, London, September 24, 1568, *Cal. S.P., etc., Simancas*, II, No. 51, p. 73. His correspondence, preserved in this *Calendar* (especially 1, No. 323, p. 485), suggests that not until October, 1565, was Guerau de Spes' predecessor, Guzman de Silva, aware of the existence of these so-called licenses which Hawkins held.

suggests that Hawkins was aware of the quibble in the license, i.e. that Bernaldez granted it in so far as he was empowered to do, which was not at all. The technical loophole for his own escape which Bernaldez supplied in that document did not invalidate it for Hawkins' purposes, that is, for use at home as evidence that he was a peaceable and welcome visitor in Philip's Indies.

From La Isabela Hawkins proceeded to Monte Christi. From that port he sent to Spain a shipment of sugar and hides, the confiscation of which, upon arrival at San Lucar, aroused his lasting indignation¹. Documents Nos. 6 and 8, *post*, show that Licentiate Echegoyan had fully informed the crown and the House of Trade at Seville that this merchandise, belonging to Hawkins, had been shipped in the name of a third party (Cristóbal de Santiesteban)² consigned to Hugh Tipton, "an English merchant of great doing³," long established in business at Seville. Both of these persons were arrested and thrown into prison, from which both eventually emerged. The charge against them was that they had knowingly received goods confiscate to the crown because the true ownership of them vested in John Hawkins, a foreigner not licensed to trade in Indies. The very precautions he took suggest that Hawkins was aware that he was without the law in making the shipment; and yet, had not Licentiate Echegoyan out of pique acted as energetically as he did, in all probability the matter would have gone through in due course to Hawkins' entire satisfaction. As it was, he lost his hides, sugar and whatever other merchandise he sent to Spain entrusted to Santiesteban; all were sold for the crown as the law required. Further, Hawkins lost the value of certain warrants given him in La Española in payment for merchandise, for they were not honoured in Spain, and he was unable to enforce collection.

¹ Numerous references to this vexing matter will be found in the *Cal. S. P. Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth*.

² Full information concerning Santiesteban and his relations with Hawkins is available in *A. de I. 51-6-15/13*, the records of his case in Spain.

³ Hakluyt, IX, p. 350. In *A. de I. 51-2-59/16* and *46-3-1/7*, R. 3, both bulky *legajos*, are preserved the records of the case against Tipton.

Serious as it was, Hawkins and his backers could afford this loss, for the expedition had returned a handsome profit. So handsome a profit that when, immediately upon his return, Hawkins busied himself with plans and preparations to repeat the venture on a larger scale, he had the covert support of Queen Elizabeth and her councillors. Their participation in his undertakings lent the contrabandist John Hawkins a larger significance, of the value of which he was quick to make the most¹.

Nevertheless, his second voyage, to the Main in 1565, was of precisely the same sort as his first, out of which it developed. It was a trading expedition only; and Hawkins' methods were those he had found acceptable at La Española.

Concerning his calls at La Margarita and at Santa Fé, previous to his arrival at Borburata², the editor has seen no Spanish documents. For the Spanish version of his visit to Borburata, however, full material is to be found in *A. de I.* 47-3-52/9. This *legajo* is the legal record of the *residencia* to which Alonso Bernaldez, governor of Venezuela, and his associates in office were in due course subjected, wherein a charge against them, which they had fully anticipated, was that they had done business with Hawkins. To disprove it, Bernaldez and his subordinates at Borburata had at the time been at great pains to assemble evidence that they traded with him entirely against their will. From the records they then compiled, with that purpose in view, Documents Nos. 9-12, *post*, have been selected. Again it should be borne in mind that they are prejudiced. Governor Alonso Bernaldez of Venezuela was a worthy nephew of Licentiate Lorenzo Bernaldez of Santo Domingo, who appears to have introduced Hawkins to him, and bewildering indeed is the fabric of defence which he built up to cover the fact that his relations with Hawkins were agreeable and profitable to all concerned.

Here, again, the point at issue was the payment of customs duties and license charges on slaves. Irritated perhaps by

¹ Document No. 11, *post*.

² Burborough Water. Cf. Corbett, Sir Julian, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I, p. 87 n.

the confiscation of his shipment from La Española, or perhaps because, as he said, the business could not bear the burden, Hawkins now refused to pay the latter¹. The customs duties of 7½ per cent. only would he meet, and he followed his refusal to pay the license charges of 30 ducats per capita by such a show of force that the authorities at Borburata issued to him a permit to trade on his own terms.

Bearing on Hawkins' activities at Rio de la Hacha the documents seen are fewer. In fact, the only Spanish source the editor has discovered (exclusive of Documents Nos. 14 and 15, *post*) is to be found in *A. de I. 47-1-11/30*. This document shows that, presumably in May, 1567, Licentiate Santiago de Riego, crown prosecutor in the *Audiencia* at Santo Domingo, moved to have the matter of Hawkins' call at Rio de la Hacha investigated, and to this end drew up a questionnaire according to which he desired to examine witnesses. This questionnaire, which is Document No. 13, *post*, constitutes a statement of what the licentiate understood had occurred. The people of Rio de la Hacha defended themselves against him, alleging that the case was closed, and no further action seems to have been taken on his memorial.

This document, considered together with Nos. 14 and 15 following, admirably illustrates Hawkins' methods. It makes the English sources intelligible. Further, it explains Lovell's voyage of 1566-7, for it is here stated (Question No. 14) that at Rio de la Hacha in 1565 Hawkins booked further orders for future delivery. To make this delivery was the purpose of Lovell's expedition.

Hawkins had prepared a third voyage. On October 10, 1566, the Spanish ambassador served upon Elizabeth an ultimatum in no uncertain terms². In consequence of that

¹ The license charge, 30 ducats per capita on slaves, was a revenue due to the crown in Spain; whereas customs duties were local revenues. It would almost seem, considering this detail in relation to Hawkins' assertions that he had suffered wrongs, that in refusing to pay the license charges the Englishman was retaliating for the confiscation of his earlier shipment of sugar and hides.

² Guzman de Silva to the crown, London, October 12, 1566, in *Cal. S.P., etc., Simancas*, 1, No. 385, p. 584.

tempestuous audience Elizabeth summoned Hawkins and forbade him on grave penalties to go to any of Philip's prohibited ports. This, now, was serious. Heretofore Hawkins' orders had been merely to do King Philip's subjects no harm¹, and he had obeyed them—and brought home signed certificates of good conduct to prove that he had obeyed them. This, on the other hand, was an order not to go to the Spanish Indies at all. There is evidence that her council protested against so sweeping a command, but the queen remained obdurate, obviously under the influence of the admonition she had received from Guzman de Silva. It was no moment for England to break with Spain.

On October 17 the authorities at Plymouth were ordered² to cause Hawkins' ships to be stayed. On the 30th the Admiralty was ordered³ to receive of Hawkins "sufficient bandes...not only that he shall forbeare to send any shippe or shippes to any of those portes of the Indias which are priviledgid to any personne or personnes by the Kinge of Spaine, but also that neyther he nor any other that shall go in any shippe of his or of his settinge forth shall robbe, spoile or evill handle any of the Queen's Majesties subjects, alies, confederates or frendes...." By the 31st⁴ Hawkins had given the required bonds and his ships were ordered to be released "and sufferid to departe when commodytie shall serve." They cleared out of Plymouth harbour on November 9, 1566⁵; and inasmuch as they were going to Indies against her

¹ His correspondence printed in the *Calendar* of papers from Simancas so frequently cited shows that when in July-August, 1564, Guzman de Silva protested against Hawkins' preparations to return to Indies he could get no satisfaction from Elizabeth beyond her assurance that Hawkins was a reputable loyal subject upon whose promise (which evidently he had given her) to do King Philip's subjects no harm, all reliance could be placed. Cf. Hawkins' letter to Elizabeth, Padstow, Cornwall, September 20, 1565 (in Froude, James Anthony, *History of England*, London, 1870, VIII, p. 64 n.), in which, upon his return from that second voyage, he assures her that he has kept his word.

² *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, New Series, London, 1893, VII, p. 314.

³ *Ibid.* p. 316.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See Williamson, J. A., *Sir John Hawkins*, pp. 122, 123. The names of the ships and date of sailing are recorded in the Plymouth port books.

majesty's express command and contrary to Hawkins' own pledge, it is explicable that they went as secretly as possible. Hawkins himself remained ashore and command vested in John Lovell, whom the Spaniards believed to be a relative of his¹.

Unfortunately the Spanish documents² available are not as diversified as might be desired: they are communications from officials at Rio de la Hacha and tell the story from a single point of view. Lovell arrived³ from Guinea at La Margarita in the early spring of 1567 either in company with that ubiquitous Frenchman known as "John Goodweather" (Jean Bontemps, Juan Buentiempo) or else immediately in his wake. At Borburata these two seem to have combined⁴ to do business and it is possible that this association was in itself unfortunate, for the French were not always the peaceable traders Hawkins had advertised the English to be, nor were they trusted. Nevertheless, it would appear that at Borburata (under guise of sequestering certain merchants) a little business was done, and on May 18 (alone and ten days now behind Bontemps) Lovell entered the harbour of Rio de la Hacha, anchored quietly, and went ashore, presumably to open the usual negotiations. It is probable that he announced himself ready to deliver the goods ordered of Hawkins in 1565, but the authorities showed themselves unfriendly.

The reasons are obvious. Times were changing. As governor of Venezuela, Pedro Ponce de Leon⁵ had succeeded the Licentiate Bernaldez, whom he had shipped to Spain along with the bulky records of the routine inquisition (*residencia*) he had made into his administration. Among these

¹ Document No. 21, *post*.

² Documents Nos. 16-21 inc., *post*.

³ *A. de I.* 53-6-5, II, f. 412, Licentiate Santiago de Riego to the crown, Santo Domingo, May 12, 1567, stating that twelve ships passed La Margarita at Easter: "...and now we are advised from La Margarita that after five French ships had arrived there, twelve more came, four French and eight English..."—*id. to id.*, May 14, 1567.

⁴ Document No. 21, *post*, and *A. de I.* 54-5-25, Diego Ruiz de Vallejo and Gonzalo de los Rios, royal officials, to his majesty, from Venezuela, no date except the year 1567 (?). It is stated that the French burned Borburata shortly after Lovell's call.

⁵ Document No. 21, *post*.

records the evidence of his predecessor's relations with Hawkins were very likely to draw unfavourable attention to Ponce's post. Ponce was not inclined to countenance during his incumbency any repetition of such offences. Indeed, Rio de la Hacha had never extended to the English a hearty welcome. The explanation probably lies largely in Treasurer Castellanos' character; he seems to have been truculent and ambitious. Moreover, at Rio de la Hacha there was the possibility of preventing visiting ships from watering, and so at least of reducing them to the necessity of selling their perishable goods at bargain prices. Finally, and perhaps most potent of all reasons for Castellanos' attitude toward Lovell, the *Audiencia* was at that very moment making life a burden¹ for him and his associates because of their traffickings with Hawkins in 1565. Certainly it was not a juncture in which to admit that they had then placed an order with him for more slaves. Lovell's arrival was inopportune.

Nevertheless, some business may have been transacted, for Lovell lay in the harbour of Rio de la Hacha for a week and it is unlikely that during this period he was entirely idle. Yet he may have consumed the time in useless argument and in threatening, since at the end of the week, either in accordance with some agreement the Spaniards seem not to have kept, or else because they were dying on his hands for lack of water, Lovell landed some ninety negroes across the river from the town and departed from Rio de la Hacha. For these negroes he failed to get a receipt he wanted of Castellanos, but very likely some promise, at least, to pay was made to him, inasmuch as Hawkins subsequently² reminded the treasurer that they constituted an unsettled debt.

From Rio de la Hacha Captain John Lovell sailed homeward, arriving at Plymouth early in September, 1567, a month before Hawkins cleared upon his third voyage³. He

¹ Compare the date of Document No. 13, *post*, and observe the complaints against *jueces de comisión* in Documents Nos. 16, 17.

² *A. de I. 2-5-1/20*, Document 11, pp. 3-4, deposition, Valentine Baird (?).

³ For the date of Lovell's return to England ("about one month prior to Hawkins' clearance on his third voyage") the editor is indebted to

intended it to be what the others had been—a pacific trading expedition. Whatever differences developed were forced upon him by changing conditions.

At La Margarita, as at Santa Marta, Hawkins found the general situation unaltered. Borburata was deserted, but he appealed to the neighbouring clergy and eventually persuaded the people to return and trade¹, but at Rio de la Hacha the treasurer told him that business with him had become too expensive, because of the penalties involved². At Rio de la Hacha on this occasion Hawkins' offensive may have been no longer pretence. It is possible that his men got out of hand. Certainly he had difficulty³ in holding in check the French who had joined him on the Guinea coast and because of his strict discipline some deserted⁴. Cartagena may have appeared obdurate, but it is hardly conceivable that unless he was doing business Hawkins should have spent a week or ten days there, when his knowledge of the dangers of the equinox in that region must have been urging him to move on. In brief, despite difficulties, much was accomplished on the old lines and the third voyage was a success up to the moment when the Spanish fleet entered San Juan de Ulua, where Hawkins lay.

The Spanish documents bearing upon this expedition which are herewith presented (Nos. 22–29, *post*) require little comment. Nos. 22, 23 and 24 are reports to the crown made by officials along the Main. No. 25 is Don Martin Enriquez's acceptance of terms upon which Hawkins was willing to admit him to the harbour. No. 26 is a communication from the *alcalde mayor* of Vera Cruz to the *Audiencia* in Mexico

Mr G. R. G. Conway, of Mexico City, who finds it in the cross-examination of John Moon, September 1, 1573, MS. in the *Archivo General Nacional* of Mexico City, vol. LV.

¹ *A. de I.* 2-5-1/20, Document 12-2, pp. 35 and 49, depositions of Hawkins' men, taken prisoners. See Barrett's account, *post*, Document No. 25.

² Document No. 28, *post*.

³ *A. de I.* 2-5-1/20, Documents 11, pp. 4, 13, and 12-2, pp. 11, 24, 50.

⁴ After he left Cartagena and before he entered San Juan de Ulua. These French were themselves taken later by the Spanish. *A. de I.* 53-6-5, 1, f. 383 r.

City reporting on the situation just as Hawkins and the viceroy came to terms. No. 27 shows by the sworn depositions of his enemies themselves that at San Juan de Ulua Hawkins was—precisely as he claimed that he was—made the victim of unconscionable treachery.

Admiral Ubilla, second in command of the Spanish fleet, was presently accused of precipitating events by giving the preconcerted signal for attack too soon, and without authorization to give it at all; he was blamed for the loss of his ship and her cargo, and for the looting of the prizes which occurred. From evidence in this case, preserved in *A. de I.* 51-6-16/14, Document No. 27 is taken. It presents Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez's statement of events, supported by the sworn depositions of no lesser participants in them than Captains Maldonado and Delgadillo, Lieutenant-Treasurer Bustamante, Hawkins' prisoners, subsequently instrumental in his defeat, and Admiral Ubilla himself. No. 28 is Robert Barrett's first account of the voyage up to the time when he was thrown below hatches of the Spanish flagship, an hour before the fight began at San Juan de Ulua. Document No. 29 is the succinct report rendered to the crown by the *Audiencia* of Mexico City.

Obviously it was stress of weather¹, the condition of his ships, especially the *Jesus*, and his need of subsistence which forced Hawkins into San Juan de Ulua. He had started homeward from Cartagena and for two months and more he had been beating about the Gulf of Mexico, trying to disembogue. Now the dreaded "hurricane season" had closed in and caught him with ill-prepared ships in dangerous seas which he knew none too well. What Hawkins must have was a safe berth until the weather improved and while he put his fleet into condition for the transatlantic crossing. This was available nowhere but at San Juan de Ulua and therefore Hawkins sought that port.

There is no evidence in the Spanish documents seen to suggest that his Spanish contemporaries imagined Hawkins

¹ Cf. Hawkins' own statement of his situation in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, x, p. 67.



entered San Juan de Ulua to seize treasure or treasure-ships. There can have been no treasure in the place at the time and any report to the contrary¹ could not have found credence among Spaniards.

Hawkins may not have been averse to doing a little business at San Juan de Ulua, if it offered, enough at least to pay for subsistence and other supplies, but business was no longer his principal purpose². Nevertheless, he proceeded in accordance with his established policies, in that, while retaining possession of those influential persons who had unintentionally made themselves his hostages, he reassured the townspeople, advertised his peaceable purposes, and communicated with the superior authorities³. Neither is there any indication that these policies would not have succeeded in Mexico as on the Main, had not the whole situation been changed by the advent of the viceroy and the Seville fleet. In Don Martin Enriquez and in Captain General Don Francisco de Luxan, for the first time in his experience Hawkins faced, not Spanish colonials and colonial officials, whose material interests and secret intentions were in harmony with his own, but, instead, Spaniards whose careers, if not their very lives, depended upon their maintenance of Spanish law.

A foreigner, Hawkins had no right to be in the New World at all without his Catholic majesty's consent. He had no right to trade there, without permit, nor in unlicensed and unmanifested goods. Above all things, he had no right to occupy his majesty's harbour and his majesty's fort on the island of San Juan de Ulua (as he did, on sight of the Spanish

¹ Hawkins heard one. Cf. his relation, *Principal Navigations*, x, p. 68. Given the Spanish system of transporting treasure it cannot possibly have been true.

² Compare Laughton, Professor J. K., *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1891, xxv, p. 215. What negroes Hawkins had still on board he probably hoped to exchange for subsistence and what materials he needed to repair his ships. Hawkins' own explanation of his reasons for entering San Juan de Ulua stands against very close comparison with Spanish sources.

³ Hawkins states that he wrote to the *Audiencia*. Spanish documents seen make no mention of any such communication. Cf. Document No. 29, *post*.

fleet), or to lay hands upon his majesty's artillery, or to build works of his own within his majesty's domain. These were new and serious phases of his unlawful procedure¹, intolerable to a viceroy and the captain-general of a Seville fleet.

It is idle to discuss either Hawkins' wisdom in permitting that fleet to enter the harbour where his vessels lay, or the morality of the conduct observed by Don Martin Enríquez. Hawkins repeatedly stated that he had Elizabeth's orders, possibly even her written orders², imperatively commanding him to do Philip's subjects no harm³. If he refused to permit the Seville fleet to enter the road it ran desperate danger of wrecking along the coast. In short, unless he admitted it, Hawkins was very probably inflicting upon Philip's subjects a maximum of damage—the loss of a fleet. His Catholic majesty would not have suffered such a loss to pass in inactivity; nor would her Britannic majesty have forgiven Hawkins for so bringing Spain's wrath upon her, despite his pledge to avoid this—which pledge was the very price of her consent to his clearance.

It is true that the Spanish fleet might possibly have turned back to Havana. Merchants within sight of their destination at the end of a long voyage, with an equinoctial storm closing down on the Gulf of Mexico, can hardly have been in a humour to do anything but enter the port before them. Had Luxan's captain-ship turned away from that port, it seems very likely that the dozen vessels she convoyed would have let her go alone, while they took their chances with Hawkins. Responsibility for the issue would still have remained with the fleet's captain-general and admiral, and with the viceroy, who doubtless fully appreciated the merchants' temper. Don Martin's acceptance of Hawkins' terms was his only course.

¹ Document No. 27, *post*, for Don Martin Enríquez's statement of them.

² "...deponent saw a copy which they said was a copy of the instructions which the queen of England had given the said Hawkins..."—Alonso de Palomares, deposition, in *A. de I. 51-3-81/5*, Seville, November, 1570. Palomares was a passenger aboard the Spanish fleet which engaged Hawkins.

³ Cf. Hawkins' own statement of his dilemma, *Principal Navigations*, x, p. 69.

Document No. 25, *post*, shows in what terms, and also with what intention, he did accept them. Document No. 27, *post*, shows that it was generally known that he had accepted. Hawkins says¹ that this agreement was "subscribed and sealed" and "proclaimed by sound of trumpet." It was publicly known that the Spaniards broke it—and that they purposed breaking it when they made it. The Spanish documents state this fact baldly, without any comment whatsoever. In his deposition Admiral Ubilla defends the policy pursued, its military expediency being the issue in his mind. The truth is that if the Spanish officials involved in this matter feared criticism, it was lest they be called to account, not for breaking their word to a heretic corsair, but for having entered into any agreement with him under any circumstances whatever.

Hawkins believed he could hold the whip hand, small and crowded though the roadstead was. Against the Spanish *capitana* and *almiranta* he could set the *Jesus* and the *Minion*; and against twice as many heavy merchantmen, whose chief desire was to save themselves from every possibility of harm, he was not unjustified in relying upon the *Judith*, the *Swallow*, the *Angel* and the *Grace of God*, all equipped for action in emergency. Given the condition on which the queen had permitted him to clear from home, Hawkins was perhaps not unwarranted in thinking it "better to abide the Jutt of the uncertainty" involved in admitting the Spaniards to the haven than the certainty of Elizabeth's wrath if they were wrecked because he excluded them. In the island and in the land batteries there he had the key to the situation.

What does seem questionable in his conduct is a certain bravado (witness the picturesque incident of his personal interview with Luxan in his small boat), an effort, perhaps, to establish himself upon an equality² with the viceroy and with the captain-general of the fleet, who were the embodiment of the highest Spanish authority he had ever

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, July, 1569, vol. 53, in excerpt in Arber, E., *An English Garner*, Birmingham, 1882, v, p. 233.

² Cf. Hortop, in *The Principal Navigations*, xi, p. 451.

encountered face to face. And if from the moment of their appearance upon his horizon Hawkins failed to recognize in these persons enemies with whom there could be no fictitious relation, nor any understanding not maintained by force of arms, Hawkins was guilty of an error in judgment which would seem unpardonable were it possible to suggest any alternative to the policy he pursued.

Technically, whoever fired the first shot was responsible for the battle of San Juan de Ulua. The English accounts state, with considerable show of pride, that at the sound of the trumpet calling the Spaniards to arms, the *Jesus* fired, before they could get in a shot, and the weight of evidence supports the English claim. If Hawkins himself did not break the truce with an arrow aimed at the Spanish admiral, there is no reason to dispute his flagship's boast that she broke it with her ready artillery.

Ship to ship, it must have seemed that the English were carrying the day, for Hawkins' best vessels had worked clear and were cannonading the Spanish from the open roadstead, when the land batteries spoke up. "The men from Vera Cruz" had driven the English from the island and Luxan had turned upon Hawkins' vessels the guns the Englishman had planted there. Both sides agree that the Spanish fireships completed Hawkins' discomfiture.

The Spanish official relation¹ states that the English *captana* (H.M.S. *Jesus of Lubeck*), the *almiranta* (H.M.S. *Minion*) and a *patax* (Drake's *Judith*) got clear of the port and that at a short distance from the harbour the *Jesus* was abandoned, after Hawkins had removed what he could to the *Minion*. Hawkins' own story is that he used the disabled *Jesus* to shelter the *Minion* and intended to make this removal, but was prevented from doing so by the *Minion's* hasty retreat at sight of the fireships. He was at this time still within range of the land batteries and the Spanish documents bear out his account in that they show that the *Jesus* was abandoned in the road; after which the *Minion* and the *Judith*

¹ *A. de I. 2-5-1/20*, Document 12-1, translated in Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I, p. 397.

drew off, out of range, hauling down their colours as they retired.

No sooner had the English deserted the *Jesus* than the victors fell upon her and stripped her to the bone¹. Her very sails were cut away in rags. The official relation states that aboard her the Spaniards found their hostages, unharmed; cloth, forty-five or fifty head of slaves and "other things" which this relation declares were "of little value." The official inventory² lists only ordnance and a little powder. Hawkins later claimed³ that he left aboard much treasure in gold and silver, merchandise, plate and the costly hangings of his quarters. Reconciliation of these contradictory statements is to be found in the multitude of accusations and counter-accusations of plundering which presently arose among the Spaniards, out of which grew various suits at law. Despite the mass of evidence submitted *pro* and *contra* no facts seem established except that whatever Hawkins did leave aboard the *Jesus* was immediately carried off by looters, and so busied were the Spaniards in despoiling the *Jesus* and her small consorts, and so hard-hit were the Spanish ships in the fight, no vessel followed as the *Minion* and the *Judith* withdrew.

Forty years had elapsed between the November day in Santo Domingo when Warden Tapia dropped his solid shot too near the dinner-table of the first Englishman to sail the Caribbean, and that other day when Hawkins and Drake (trusting to the "mercie of God at sea") beat their way out of San Juan de Ulua harbour against a dangerous north wind;

¹ *A. de I.* 52-1-12/9, 5; 51-6-16/14, 2, f. 11. Witnesses depose that when Luxan left Ubilla in charge of the abandoned *Jesus* with a body of men and orders to take possession for the king, the admiral not only permitted but even encouraged his men to loot the prize, assuring them that they had earned the booty. Agustin de Villanueva was accused of coming off with a fortune in slaves and precious metal; having been Hawkins' guest and aboard the ship during the battle, he evidently knew on what first to lay hand.

² *A. de I.* 52-1-12/9, 3, the inventory. There are details here of the subsequent auction of the *Jesus* for 601 ducats, a caravel for 400 ducats; another vessel (*el inglesillo*—the *Swallow*?) for 300 with cordage and sails; and Bland's *Grace of God* for 200 ducats.

³ Arber, E., *An English Garner*, v, pp. 237 *et seq.*

and yet Luxan's ordnance rang like an echo to that earlier gun. In those forty years the position of the English in the Indies had altered not one jot. Foreigners lacking permits "to pass," unauthorized traders with unlicensed and unmanifested and therefore contraband cargoes, heretics in the face of the Catholic Church, they were illicit intruders, trespassing upon Spain's political, commercial and religious monopoly of the west. That threefold monopoly continued to exist. The English could not cite a law nor exhibit a privilege in their favour.

To exculpate themselves for trading with them the Spanish colonials had sometimes demanded of the English the feint, at least, of war. The time was close at hand when the fiction was to become fact.



DOCUMENTS

Document No. I¹

A²

[Depositions taken at Santo Domingo,
November 26–December 9, 1527.]

(f. 6)

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In the city of Santo Domingo, Tuesday, *noche*, the twenty-sixth day of the month of November in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, Licentiates Cris-tóbal Lebron and Alonso Zuazo, judges of his majesty's High Court of Justice and Equity³ being assembled in the House of Trade, I, Diego Caballero, secretary of the said Royal *Audiencia*, being present, their honours stated that:

Whereas, yesterday, Monday, in the afternoon, there arrived off the mouth of this river and port a large three-masted ship belonging to the king of England;

And its master with ten or twelve seamen came ashore in a boat;

And told them that the ship belonged to the king of England;

And that this ship, together with another, cleared perhaps nine months ago from England on order from their king, to make a certain exploration toward the north, between Labrador and Newfoundland, in the belief that in that region there was a strait through which to pass to Tartary;

And that they had sailed as far north as fifty and some degrees, where certain persons died of cold; the pilot had died; and one of the said vessels was lost;

For which reasons they came to this land to take in water and subsistence and other things which they needed;

¹ *A. de I.* 53-1-9, certified copy, 6½ *pliegos*. Cf. Biggar, H. P., *Pre-cursors*, pp. 165 *et seq.*

² In the original the depositions taken by the judges (Martin's, Montiel's and Tapia's own) are carelessly sewed in among the depositions taken by Tapia. In the translation all appear in their order.

³ *Real Audiencia y Chancilleria.*

And they asked them for safe-conduct to enter this port, which their honours extended to them in his majesty's name, sending with them to the ship Diego Mendez, high sheriff of this island, and Antonio Martin and Pedro Montiel, pilots, to bring the said ship into this harbour, who, since it was almost dark yesterday [when she arrived] could not bring her in until to-day, the date aforesaid, at ten o'clock in the morning, when the ship anchored at the mouth of the river, in order from there to be warped up, since the north wind was blowing; *

And whereas, the ship being so anchored, they have been informed and it is notorious that, from the fortress of this city there was fired at it a small lombard loaded with a stone, which passed close to the said ship, which, for this reason at once (p. 12) cleared on a course for Castile;

And whereas they desire to take evidence in the matter, in order to act as justice may demand;

Therefore they administered oath to the said Antonio Martin and Pedro Montiel, pilots, who swore in legal form and deposed as follows:

The said Antonio Martin, pilot, resident in this city, stated that yesterday, Monday, in the afternoon, by order of the judges, deponent and another pilot, accompanying the high sheriff, went with the master of the English ship to the said ship, which was off the entrance of this harbour and unable to sail in because of the north wind which was blowing and continues to blow;

They boarded the said ship, where the master received them well, and gave them to eat and drink abundantly indeed, and showed them certain linens, woollens and other merchandise which he carried for barter¹;

And just when they had dropped anchor, and, the ship being anchored, all hands had begun to eat, with much pleasure and good humour, from the fortress of this city

¹ The master may have been offering these in payment for supplies, or he may have asked license to trade. Cf. Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, Captain Gonzalo, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Madrid, 1851, I, p. 611; Herrera, Antonio de, *Historia General*, Dec. II, Lib. v, cap. iii, p. 145.

a lombard was fired, and the stone passed by the poop of the ship, very near to it;

Whereupon the ship's master turned colour, saying to witness and his companion that it was a plot to betray them;

Deponent tried to quiet and reassure him as best he could, telling him that the lombard which had been fired was a salute in welcome;

The master wanted to know why, then, it had been loaded;

In fine, deponent could not prevent them from raising anchor and at once making sail;

Deponent and the other pilot put off in a small boat which they had taken out (the high sheriff (f. 7) had previously returned ashore);

And when, in the small boat, they passed near the fortress where was the warden, Francisco de Tapia, Alonso Davila being with him, deponent asked the warden if he thought he had acted wisely, inasmuch as the ship was departing because of the lombard he had fired; and the warden replied that the judges had advised him of nothing, for which reason he had fired;

And now deponent observes that the ship has gone, on a course for Castile, its departure having been occasioned by the lombard shot which the warden fired, according as he has deposed, to which he was an eye-witness.

This is the truth, on the oath administered to him; and he said that he does not know how to write.

The said Pedro de Montiel, pilot, having been sworn in *Witness* legal form, deposed that:

Yesterday, Monday, in the afternoon, by order of the judges, witness and Antonio Martin, pilot, went out in a boat to bring into the harbour the English ship which arrived here said day;

When, with the high sheriff, Diego Mendez, they reached the ship, the people who were aboard her received them well, and showed them what they carried, which was certain cloths and other things, which they said they brought to barter in those parts where they went to explore;

And because it was late that night, and because the wind

was against her entering the harbour under her own sail, they decided to anchor at the mouth of the river, in order from there to warp her in;

The high sheriff went ashore that night;

The following day, Tuesday, being anchored at the river's mouth, and all being agreeable and pleased to enter this harbour, they sat down to eat, for it was the proper hour;

And being so seated, from the fortress of this city a heavy lombard fired a ball, which fell immediately off the poop of the English ship;

When the ship's master and crew perceived this shot they became agitated, and the master arose and demanded to know what was meant, and why they were fired upon, [asserting] that some treason was afoot;

Deponent and the other pilot told them (p. 14) the shot was fired in salute, and not to be disturbed, but to enter the harbour with confidence, that no annoyance would be done them;

But the master asked why the cannon had been loaded, if it was a salute, and why the stone had fallen so near them;

They bade him pay no attention to it, [repeating] that they could certainly enter very safely, for everyone was well disposed to receive them;

Nevertheless, the said master and crew of the ship declared that they did not desire to enter, and began to hoist sail, and raised the anchor, which had been cast, bidding deponent and the other pilot go ashore, and they got into a small boat which they had there, and came ashore;

And the ship made sail toward Spain, this departure being occasioned by the shot which was fired from the fortress;

As they approached the shore in the boat they passed near the fortress, where they saw the warden, Francisco de Tapia, and they asked him why he had fired the shot, which alarmed the ship and crew, who had left on account of it, and would not enter the harbour;

And the warden replied that he had fired it because he had been informed of nothing.

This is the truth, on the oath he took, and he did not sign.

Whereafter, on Friday, *nona*, the seventh day of the said month of December in the said year, the judges aforesaid had brought before them Francisco de Tapia, to whom oath was administered in legal form, and they bade him state and explain what had occurred with respect to the English ship and the lombard shot fired upon it from the fortress.

Deponent stated that the fact is that the day the English ship was sighted at sea, another ship was also sighted, and when they came near to land, and there entered into the river and harbour of this city a small boat from the English ship, which rowed close by the said fortress;

The warden's deposition

Deponent asked it whence the ship was, supposing it to come from Castile, and they answered from the boat that they were Englishmen;

When deponent (f. 8) heard this, considering it a novel thing, he arose from the bed where he lay sick and from this fortress saw how the boat continued up the river and was hailed from the residence of Licentiate Zuazo, and put in there, certain men landing from the boat;

Seeing which, deponent sent a man of his to Licentiate Zuazo to inquire what persons they were, whence they came, and what they wanted; and the man returned and told deponent that the licentiate said that he and Licentiate Lebron, judge, had not yet consulted together, but when they had, they would advise deponent what action to take, which reply his man gave deponent, Licentiate Prado being present;

And as soon as deponent learned that the judges and many other citizens of this city were assembled together, he again sent the said man to their honours to inquire again whence the ship came and what he, as became an official responsible for this river and fortress, should do, on learning what they wanted and whence they were;

Which messenger returned to deponent with answer that Licentiate Lebron had told him that so far it had not been decided what course to pursue, but that through Diego Caballero, secretary of the *Audiencia*, who was present, they would let him know whatever was done and what decision was reached;

Considering which, and seeing that the said ship was coming up to the harbour, deponent again sent his said messenger to Licentiate Lebron, to learn what to do, which man returned with reply to the effect that Licentiate Lebron said the high sheriff, Diego Mendez, was going out to the ship to see her and to learn in what guise she presented herself, and what crew she carried, and that upon his return the said high sheriff would advise deponent what to do;

Whereupon night fell and nothing more happened that day;

The next day, at nine in the morning, the English ship anchored at the mouth of this river, and deponent, seeing that he had had no word from the judges and that the ship had anchored,

Being desirous to fulfil orders received from his majesty which bade him take cognizance of all vessels entering, in order to learn whence they come, deponent did, to this end, fire a small loaded cannon, but not aimed at the ship, which (p. 16) stone fell more than twenty fathoms to one side of it;

Immediately the ship put off a small boat, and seeing that she did so, deponent did not trouble to fire again nor issue further orders;

The ship made sail and departed, and those who came ashore in the boat, for whom deponent waited, told him that she was clearing, but would return if he would send out assurance with a flag.

And the persons in the small boat were the pilot Antonio Martin and another seaman, both of this city.

This is the truth, and he signed it.

Francisco de Tapia.

Diego Caballero,

His majesty's notary.

(f. 9 blank)

¹ Marginal note added by some interested contemporary reader.

*According to
their deposi-
tions they
did not tell
him this¹*

B¹

Very Noble Sir

I, Francisco de Tapia, for his majesty warden of the fortress of Santo Domingo, appear before your honour (f. 4) and state that:

Last Monday a warship out of England appeared off the port of this city, and I sent to Licentiate Lebron and to Licentiate Zuazo, judges on duty at the time, asking them to instruct me whether or not to let this ship enter the harbour;

They answered me that they would presently reply to me, which reply they never sent me;

And the next day, in the morning, the ship entered to anchor and sought to come into the harbour.

Whereupon, inasmuch as I hold the fortress to protect the harbour, and in order to learn whence she came, I fired a small cannon in warning to the ship, that she might make signals, as is the custom;

Which ship then departed.

And whereas I have need to take evidence *ad perpetuā rei memoriam* concerning the aforesaid and what happened in this connection, to present same before his majesty and his majesty's very high council, that his majesty may know and be informed of what occurred;

Therefore I petition your honour to have the witnesses to be presented on my behalf examined, and to provide me copy of their statements and depositions, duly legalized, sealed and stamped, valid in whatever quarter before whomsoever said evidence may be presented; which witnesses I petition to have examined according to the following questionnaire:

I. First, if they know Francisco de Tapia, warden of the fortress of this city of Santo Domingo; and if they are

¹ Two powers of attorney have been omitted, one, dated Santo Domingo, December 10, 1527, Tapia to Pedro Sanchez de Valtierra who, evidently, was to act for the warden in Spain, and the other, dated Santo Domingo, December 8, 1527, in favour of Francisco de Castro. Castro acted for him in Santo Domingo.

informed of an English ship which arrived off the port of this city on the twenty-sixth day of last month; and if they met the captain, master of same.

II. Item, if they know that at the time the ship arrived the (p. 8) warden was sick in bed, and had not been up for more than a month and a half preceding.

III. Item, if they know that as soon as the ship arrived off the port, there entered the river a large boat, with a mast, very well equipped with oars, which came up to the anchorage and landed the said captain and master and two other men, there remaining in the boat another ten or twelve more, who shoved off with the boat to midstream; and that they were well armed, with defensive and offensive weapons, and pieces of ordnance in the boat, and so they remained, in the middle of the river, oars in hand, and said they were English.

IV. Item, if they know that the ship came up in good shape, with a large crew and artillery in two tiers, heavy brass pieces, fifty or sixty in number; in addition to which there were many small arms and crossbows and lombards and pikes and targets; and that they never permitted certain persons whom they let board her see what she carried below hatches.

V. Item, if they know that as soon as the master with the two seamen had come ashore, Licentiate Lebron and Licentiate Zuazo met together and summoned and assembled the greater part of the most honourable burghers of the city, to determine what to do in the matter; and all unanimously (except two or three who dissented) voted to arrest the master and to seize the men who had come ashore in the boat, and the boat as well, (f. 5) because, these being twelve or thirteen persons, they could so learn their purposes, or could dispose of them and of the ship as they might see fit.

VI. Item, if they know that nevertheless these persons were allowed that day and that night to be at large in all the streets of the city and among its inhabitants.

VII. Item, if they know that many persons, seamen as well as burghers of the city, said in their presence that these English should be hanged and their ship seized, since it was

prohibited to come from foreign kingdoms to these parts; and that they said other things, which much scandalized the Englishmen.

VIII. Item, if they know that the captain and master was permitted to re-embark in his boat and return to his ship, so that he went back to the ship and with him all the persons he had brought ashore.

IX. Item, if they know that the next day, in the morning, the ship was seen to manœuvre off the port, and came up and cast anchor, preparatory to entering the harbour; and that when the warden saw this he fired a small cannon to warn the ship, that she might stop, and in order that he might learn in what disposition she was approaching, inasmuch as it is his duty to admit ships to the harbour, to which principal end the fortress is situated on the site it occupies.

X. Item, if they know that the day before, which was the day the master and captain came into the city, the said warden (p. 10) two or three times sent a man of his to ask the judges concerning the ship's intentions, and to inquire what it meant, and what they had decided to do, since it came from a foreign kingdom; and they answered him that they would let him know.

XI. Item, if they know that neither this day nor any other did they let him know what they decided, for if they had let him know the witnesses must have been aware of the fact, given the communication they had night and day with the warden, for he was ill.

Let them declare and depose what they know.

XII. Item, if they know that it is customary for all fortresses in ports, or at least most of them, like the Grand Canary and others, to fire a cannon or two, with shot, at an entering vessel, especially a foreign vessel, in order to learn what vessel she is, and to bring her to.

XIII. Item, if they know that all the foregoing, and each detail and part of it, are true and publicly known.

XIV. I petition to have the witnesses asked all other questions pertinent to the case.

XV. Item, if they know, etc., that at the time that the captain and master and men from the English ship arrived in this city and port, he announced and published that she had left England armed to discover a certain strait toward the north, and that for lack of his pilot, who had been killed, he came to this island to get a pilot, and not for any other purpose; (f. 10) and if they know and consider it credible and presumable that the said ship had not lost her pilot, since, to judge by the voyage she made and the quarters in which she arrived, it is rather to be thought that she carried expert and very good pilots, instead of lacking them.

XVI. Item, if they know, etc., that at the time the captain and men from the ship were in this city and port, he announced and advertised that they had lost the shallop which accompanied them; and if they know that it transpired later that this was not true, since they had their shallop, and had sent it that very night twelve leagues up coast from this city; and that its crew entered certain estates belonging to burghers of this city, and committed violence and took and stole what they wanted there.

The said power of attorney¹ and document and questionnaire being presented, in the said manner, immediately Juan Jimenez, for Francisco de Tapia, made petition, according to the tenor of his petition.

Forthwith the said governor's lieutenant² ordered him to bring before him the witnesses of whom he purposed to make use in this case, for he is ready to receive them and to do full justice. *

Whereupon Juan Jimenez, for his principal, stated that inasmuch as the lieutenant is busy with certain affairs and the witnesses whom he intends to present are persons such that he cannot produce them so shortly, in order that there be no delay in the matter, (p. 20) since the evidence is to go forward aboard a vessel bound for Castile which is on the eve of departure, therefore he petitioned the said lieutenant

¹ See note 1, p. 35, *ante*.

² This governor's lieutenant was Lope de Bardeci, as omitted portions of this document make plain.

to authorize me, the said notary, to receive and swear in the witnesses he might present in the case.

And forthwith the said lieutenant, for the reasons stated in the petition entered by Juan Jimenez for his principal, which reasons he knew to be true, declared that he committed, as he did commit, to me, the said notary, the swearing in and examination of the said witnesses, and further declared that he fully and legally empowered me, as he did empower me, to administer oath and examine them.

Whereafter, on the said day, month and year aforesaid, Juan Jimenez, acting for his principal, appeared before me, the said notary, and presented as witnesses in the said case, Licentiate Francisco de Prado; and Alonso Davila, burgher and municipal councilman of this city; and Diego Martel; and Juan Garcia Caballero, all burghers of the city; and Juan de Loaysa, resident in same, to whom and to each of whom, I, the said notary, administered oath, on the sign of the cross, on which each literally laid his right hand and swore by God and by Holy Mary and by the words of the Sacred Evangel, wherever and most lengthily written, all according to legal form; in accordance with which oath they undertook to tell the truth.

And what they, each one of them, said and deposed, secretly and separately, being (f. 11) examined according to the said questionnaire, is as follows:

The said Francisco de Prado, burgher of this city, witness presented in the said case on behalf of the said Francisco de Tapia, warden, being sworn in due form and examined according to the tenor of the questionnaire, deposed as follows:

I. In reply to the first question, witness deposed that he knows the warden, Francisco de Tapia, and knows that at the time stated in the question the English ship approached this city's port, as set forth in the question, but witness did not see her captain and master.

II. In reply to the second question, witness deposed that he knows its content and saw that at the time and season that the English ship arrived off the mouth of the harbour

of this city, the warden, Francisco de Tapia, was sick and had been sick for many days, and because of his ill-health and weakness did not go outside the fortress.

III. In reply to the third question, witness deposed that he had heard its content stated at the time by everybody who saw the boat and spoke with them, all which was public and notorious in this city, but witness did not go down to the river front to see it.

IV. In reply to the fourth question, witness deposed that he heard its content stated by Diego Mendez, high sheriff, whom the judges sent to see the ship; who went aboard and himself told witness that the ship was well equipped for war, with (p. 22) much heavy brass artillery, in two tiers, that she was ready for action and clean, and that he, Diego Mendez, thought that all the vessels which were in this harbour were not sufficient to fetch her in by force. Witness saw the ship tacking off shore and she seemed fleet and to present herself in an ugly fashion.

V. In reply to the fifth question, witness deposed that he was not present when the event set forth in the question occurred, but he heard related what the judges had determined, and it seemed to him ill-advised to let go the master and captain and those who accompanied him in the boat, not detaining them ashore, nor learning from them whence they came and in what guise; for had the captain, and twelve seamen with him, been held on land, he would have found a way to bring the ship in; and even had she by any chance wished to go, under those circumstances she would not have done so, because of the need she must have had of the said captain and seamen; and this was the opinion of all who talked of the matter. Witness believes it would have been better to detain them, and he heard nothing said to the contrary.

VI. In reply to the sixth question, witness deposed that he heard its content stated publicly in this city but did not himself see it.

VII. In reply to the seventh question, witness deposed that he does not know.

VIII. In reply to the eighth question, witness deposed that he knows its content. Asked how he knows, he said that he saw the master return to his ship and presently saw the ship depart. (f. 12)

IX. In reply to the ninth question, witness deposed that the ship anchored at the harbour entrance, desiring to enter, but did not enter because the wind was against her. Witness heard a shot which was fired from the fortress at the time, and he believes that the fortress was built especially to protect the harbour, in order that no vessel might enter without declaring her identity and origin. As for the rest, witness does not know.

X. In reply to the tenth question, witness deposed that he knows its content, and saw that from the fortress the warden sent a man of his to the judges to learn whence the ship came and whether he should permit her to enter. Witness saw the man return with the reply which the judges had given him, to effect that the ship was English, and other words which witness does not recall. The warden again sent the said man, witness being present, once more to the judges, requesting them kindly to instruct him, since the ship was coming up to enter the harbour, for he was in charge of the fortress by his majesty's command not to admit any vessel without permission, especially a foreign vessel, such as that one. Witness does not know what reply the judges returned, because he left there immediately.

XI. In reply to the eleventh question, witness deposed that he does not know.

XII. In reply to the twelfth question, witness deposed that he has observed, and, further, has heard stated, that at La Gomera when vessels approach, the fortress fires a cannon or two in order that they may salute the fortress and make it signals that their purpose is peaceful, and so be admitted to the harbour. (p. 24)

XIII. In reply to the thirteenth question, witness referred to his preceding statements, which he affirms.

XIV. In reply to the fourteenth question, witness deposed that he heard all the content of this question stated publicly

in this city by all who talked of the matter, and had it from the said captain and master. In witness's opinion, basing his judgment upon the manner in which they reached this port, which is so hidden away among these islands, the said ship must have carried a pilot who knew the course very well, as was evident while she was still out at sea, seeking the port, and when they cleared, for they sail the coast like persons acquainted with it.

XV. In reply to the fifteenth question, witness deposed that he heard Diego Méndez, high sheriff, who boarded the ship, state that that night a pinnace in which the captain and master and the seamen had come ashore, had been stolen; and later witness heard said that the pinnace was used in a raid which the ship made of certain farms, when they stole bread and meat and fowls and other foodstuffs, and witness believes that the night they said the pinnace was stolen, the captain had sent it to reconnoitre the coast, in order to learn where to make that raid, as they afterwards made it.

And this is what witness knows in the case, and it is the truth, on the oath he took, and he signed it with his name: Licentiate Prado.

Witness The said Alonso Davila, burgher and municipal councilman of this city, witness presented in this case on behalf of Francisco de Tapia, warden, having been duly sworn, according to law, and examined according to the tenor of the said questionnaire, deposed as follows: (f. 13)

I. In reply to the first question, witness deposed that he has known the warden, Francisco de Tapia, for more than sixteen years, now, and knows that the English ship arrived off the port of this city, as set forth in the question; and witness saw an Englishman in this city who was said to be the master of the ship.

II. In reply to the second question, witness deposed that the warden was ill for many days preceding the ship's approach to this city's port. Witness knows this because during the time of his illness witness went to see him in the fortress where he was.

III. In reply to the third question, witness deposed that

what he knows with respect to its content is that when witness heard said that the ship off the port was English, he went down toward the harbour where vessels usually anchor, and saw coming up river a boat, which people later called a pinnace, in which there appeared to be certain men; and while witness was watching the approach of said pinnace, he learned that the master and captain of the ship had landed and entered into the lodging of Licentiate Alonso Zuazo, judge of the Royal *Audiencia*. Witness then entered the lodgings of Licentiate Cristóbal Lebron, judge of the said *Audiencia*, and thither shortly came Licentiate Zuazo and the ship's master, with certain other persons; and witness saw that the pinnace in which they had come into the harbour stood off from land, like men who were not very thoroughly assured. Witness heard it asserted that in the pinnace the English carried offensive and defensive weapons (p. 26) such as swords and targets and pieces of ordnance.

IV. In reply to the fourth question, witness deposed that what he knows with respect to this question is that he heard Diego Mendez, high sheriff of this city, and Anton Martin, ship's master, and another seaman, who went out to bring in the English ship, say that the ship was well equipped with many pieces of ordnance and targets and lances and various other sorts of offensive and defensive weapons.

V. In reply to the fifth question, witness deposed that what he knows of the matter is that Licentiate Zuazo and certain burghers of this city, who were present, met together in Licentiate Lebron's lodgings, and witness saw that they consulted together as to what should be done with respect to the English ship. Witness saw that, discussing among themselves whether the master and some twelve seamen said to have come ashore in the pinnace, should be held on land or not, until the ship should have entered the harbour, the majority of those present thought that the said master with the seamen should be detained until such time as the vessel should have entered into the harbour; and three or four persons held contrary opinion, saying it would be better to trust the master and send out with him two Spanish seamen

to bring the vessel into the harbour, in lieu of the said two Spanish seamen detaining in this city two English seamen from among those who came ashore with the master.

VI. In reply to the sixth question, witness deposed that what he knows concerning this question is that two of the said English seamen (f. 14) did remain in this city in lieu of the two Spaniards who went out to bring the ship into the harbour. Witness was not aware that they were assigned quarters; on the other hand, he heard that they went about this city wherever they pleased.

VII. In reply to the seventh question, witness deposed that what he knows is that witness heard some people in this city say they approved of admitting the ship, for she was suitable to despatch to Santa Marta, while others said that it would be a good thing to seize her and arrest the English. This was said publicly. Witness heard it stated that the two Englishmen who remained ashore heard these things, and many others, wherefore he feels certain that the English were scandalized by the things which they heard said.

VIII. In reply to the eighth question, witness deposed that, on the aforesaid understanding, the master with the others in the pinnace returned to their ship, as set forth in the question.

IX. In reply to the ninth question, witness deposed that what he knows of this matter is that when he had heard mass in the parish church of this city, he came out upon the steps of the building, with other citizens, and they heard a lombard shot. They thought it was the ship, entering. Witness went down to the look-out of this city to see if the English ship was entering, and, arrived there, saw her anchored. Thence witness went to the fortress and talked with the warden, and asked him if a shot (p. 28) which had been fired was from the ship or from the fortress; and the warden replied that it had been fired from the fortress because he had had the shot greased and loaded and also because it seemed to him right that he, as warden, should know in what guise that ship entered, since this was a matter within his jurisdiction as warden.

X. In reply to the tenth question, witness deposed that what he knows of the matter is that while witness was in Licentiate Cristóbal Lebron's house, as he has stated, a servant of the warden's arrived, who asked the said judges what was to be done with respect to that ship's entrance, since they said she was English. Licentiate Lebron answered that for the present there was nothing to be done, that he and Licentiate Zuazo and certain burghers of the city, who were present, were discussing the matter, and that the secretary, Diego Caballero, would go to the fortress to let him know the decision reached.

XI. In reply to the eleventh question, witness referred to his answers to preceding questions, which he affirms. Witness asked Secretary Diego Caballero next day if he carried any word to the warden, Francisco de Tapia, and the secretary answered that he had not.

XII. In reply to the twelfth question, witness deposed that he has heard persons, who are informed in the matter set forth in the question, (f. 15) say that in many ports, both in Spain and outside Spain, it is customary to fire pieces from the fortresses or from the harbour, in order to learn whence ships come which desire to enter.

XIII. In reply to the thirteenth question, witness deposed that what he knows of the matter set forth is that when the master of the said ship was ashore witness heard him say that that ship and another, which sailed in her company and had been lost, had cleared by order of the king of England, to seek a passage toward the north; and for lack of their pilot, who had been killed in a land whereon they had touched, they had come to this island for information concerning the course back to their own land. From what witness has heard said by men skilled in navigation, witness is certain that the ship could have returned to England from where the master said she was, more easily than she came to this island; and according to the course she laid to arrive at this port, witness believes she carried aboard some persons who knew well how to steer her.

XV. In reply to the fifteenth question, witness deposed

that what he knows concerning this question is that witness heard this high sheriff, 'Diego Mendez, say next day after the ship entered that he had heard (p. 30) said that the pinnace in which the English entered this port had been lost, having come untied from the ship; and afterwards witness heard it said that from this pinnace the English landed on certain plantations on the coast of this island to take fowls and other food supplies.

This is what witness knows in this case, and it is the truth, on the oath he took; and he signed it with his name: Alonso Davila.

Witness The said Diego Martel, burgher of this city, witness presented in this case on behalf of the warden, Francisco de Tapia, being sworn according to law and examined according to tenor of the questionnaire, deposed as follows:

I. In reply to the first question, witness deposed that he has known the warden, Francisco de Tapia, for more than eight years preceding, and is aware of the matter in question, for he saw the English ship sailing near the port of this city; and in this city, in the house of Licentiate Zuazo, judge of the Royal *Audiencia*, witness saw a man who said he was from England and claimed to be the master of the said ship.

II. In reply to the second question, witness deposed that he heard its content said by many persons in this city.

III. In reply to the third question, witness deposed that he does not know, for that day he did not go down to the river front to see it. (f. 16)

IV. In reply to the fourth question, witness deposed that from two men who lodged a night in his house, and they were the two of the said ship who remained ashore the day they landed, witness learned that the ship was well equipped with everything they needed and that she carried much brass artillery and other offensive and defensive weapons; and the rest he does not know.

V. In reply to the fifth question, witness deposed that he does not know its content, except he saw the said master on land in Licentiate Zuazo's house, as he has said, and there many of the townspeople came together to see him. Witness

does not know what was discussed among them in this connection.

VI. In reply to the sixth question, witness deposed that what he knows of its content is that on the night of the day the said master landed, witness saw two English seamen from this ship walking through the streets of this city, wherever they pleased; and that the two seamen passed that night in witness' house, and were there until morning. When day broke he saw them walking openly along the river front.

VII. In reply to the seventh question, witness deposed that what he knows of its content is that it was very publicly said among the people of this city that they wanted to seize the ship, to send her to Santa Marta; and witness feels sure that this came to the attention of the two seamen who passed the night in witness' house, for that night these two men, like persons who seemed to feel unsafe, asked witness if there was a boat in which to go out to the ship, and witness answered them that they could not (p. 32) go by any means, for it was very late. Next morning witness learned, after he had seen them on the bank, that they had gone out to the ship, and they never returned.

VIII. In reply to the eighth question, witness deposed that he believes that the master and those who accompanied him in the boat returned to the ship the day he landed, because he never saw them again ashore. Witness does not know to what purpose the two men remained ashore, except as he has already set forth.

IX. In reply to the ninth question, witness deposed that he knows, for he saw, that the ship, being near the port, sailed back and forth, tacking, for the wind was against her. Witness believes this was because she wished to enter the harbour; and the rest he does not know.

X. In reply to the tenth question, witness deposed that he does not know.

XI. In reply to the eleventh question, witness deposed that he does not know.

XII. In reply to the twelfth question, witness deposed that what he knows of its content is that in Gibraltar and

other places where there is fear of corsairs or enemies, when it is certain that the admission of a corsair ship would bring damage to the town, the fortresses which the ports possess for their safeguarding prevent such entrance until it is known who the arrivals are and whence they come; and it is customary to fire pieces until the said ships strike sail and make signals that their purpose is peaceful. (f. 17)

XIII. In reply to the thirteenth question, witness referred to his preceding statements, which he affirms.

XIV. In reply to the fourteenth question, witness deposed that what he knows of its content is that the night the two seamen passed in his house, wishing to know more of their arrival, witness asked them how they came to come up to this port, when the place whence they came was a better situation from which to return to their land, rather than come here; and these men answered witness that the king of England had sent them out with two ships to discover a certain strait which was toward Norembega, whence they had cleared; and because they sailed far enough north to reach sixty-four degrees north, since it was winter, they found all the land frozen, and it was so cold that of the cold four or five of the crew had died. Therefore they had decided to come to a warmer country and to this cause, and because their pilot had been killed, was their arrival due, and also to their intent to sell certain merchandise, cloth and linen, which the ship carried, and to take on a man skilled in navigation to carry them back to England. This is what the two men told witness, and witness is certain that the ship could not have arrived at this port had there not been aboard a man who knew the course, to bring her to said port. (p. 34)

XV. In reply to the fifteenth question, witness deposed that he does not know its content, except that he heard Licentiate Zuazo say that from a certain estate of his the people of the ship had taken certain fowls and *casabe* bread and other things.

Witness knows nothing further of the case and what he has stated is the truth on the oath he took, and he signed it with his name: Diego Martel.

The said Juan Garcia Caballero, burgher of this city, witness presented in this case on behalf of the warden, Francisco de Tapia, having been duly sworn according to law, deposed as follows:

I. In reply to the first question, witness deposed that he has known the warden, Francisco de Tapia, for more than seventeen years now, and he heard said that the English ship arrived off the port. He believes this was at the time the question states, but he did not meet the captain and master, nor see him, for at the time witness was ill.

II. In reply to the second question, witness deposed that he heard many persons in this city say publicly that before the English ship arrived near this port, and afterwards, the warden, Francisco de Tapia, had been, and was, sick.

III. In reply to the third question, witness deposed that he heard its content stated by a son of his named Leonicio, who is over seventeen years old; and afterwards, when witness came out into the city, and the ship had gone, (f. 18) witness heard it said by many persons, burghers of this city.

IV. In reply to the fourth question, witness deposed that what he knows of its content is that witness heard Diego Mendez, high sheriff of this city, state that he had gone out to the ship by order of the judges of the Royal *Audiencia*, and that he had gone aboard, and had seen that she was well equipped with many lombards and many other cannon and other sorts of weapons.

V. In reply to the fifth question, witness deposed that he knew that the Licentiates Cristóbal Lebron and Alonso Zuazo had consulted with certain other persons concerning the coming of the ship, but witness does not know what they discussed nor what they ordered in the matter.

VI. In reply to the sixth question, witness deposed that he heard its content stated by Diego Martel and the warden, Francisco de Tapia, and that it is notorious in this city that the ship's master landed, and two other seamen with him, while the rest remained in the boat, or pinnace, in which they had come up the river, and the two seamen who so landed walked about this city as they liked, until they left.

VII. In reply to the seventh question, witness deposed that he heard its content stated by Diego Martel and Warden Tapia.

VIII. In reply to the eighth question, witness deposed (p. 36) that he knew that the said captain and Diego Mendez, high sheriff, and a pilot or two had gone out to the English ship, saying that they were to bring her into the harbour; and this was when the captain and those who had come with him returned to the ship, except the two men who remained in the city.

IX. In reply to the ninth question, witness deposed that he heard its content stated by the warden, Francisco de Tapia, but witness does not know it, for witness was ill at the time, as he has said. He heard the shot mentioned in the question; and he believes that the fortress occupies the site it does, commanding the harbour, in order to protect said harbour.

X. In reply to the tenth question, witness deposed that he heard its content stated by the warden, Francisco de Tapia.

XI. In reply to the eleventh question, witness deposed that of this he knows only that he has heard its content stated by the warden, to effect that the judges had not sent him word what to do, and therefore, in order to learn whence the ship came and with what purpose, he fired on her.

XII. In reply to the twelfth question, witness deposed that he has heard said that in ports where there are fortresses, when ships approach, pieces of ordnance are fired, first without ball, that they may strike sail and make signals of peace; and if they do not strike, they are fired on with stone. When deponent came from Spain to this island, the ship touched at La Gomera, and immediately they fired (f. 19) a piece, and as soon as it had been fired the ship struck sail and put off a small boat. This is the procedure witness has seen observed in this port by the warden, especially when it was rumoured that there were corsairs in the gulf.

XIII. In reply to the thirteenth question, witness referred to his preceding statements, which he affirms.

XIV. In reply to the fourteenth question, witness deposed that he heard its content stated by certain persons in this

city. Witness believes, according to appearances, that the ship carried a Spanish pilot, or an English pilot who had been in these parts before.

XV. In reply to the fifteenth question, witness deposed that he heard its content publicly asserted in this city by many persons. Especially has he heard it from the warden, Francisco de Tapia.

This is what witness knows of this case, and it is the truth, on the oath he took, and he signed it with his name: Juan Garcia.

The said Juan de Loaysa, resident in this city, witness *Witness* presented in the case, having been duly sworn, being examined according to the tenor of the questionnaire, deposed as follows:

I. In reply to the first question, witness deposed that he has known the warden, Francisco de Tapia, for more than eight years, and is informed in the matter, for he saw the English ship which arrived near the port of this city. Witness thinks it was on the day mentioned in the question; and on land in this city witness saw a man he was told was English, and master of the ship. (p. 38)

In reply to the second question, witness deposed that he knows its content. Asked how he knows, witness said because he has been present in the fortress for the last two months and saw the facts set forth in the question.

In reply to the third question, witness deposed that he saw that as soon as the English ship arrived near the port of this city, at the mouth of the river, there approached from said ship a large boat, which those who saw it called a pinnace. It had a mast, with a sail which was stretched in the bottom of the boat, and not in place. This boat was very well equipped, with eight oars, which witness counted as soon as the boat came alongside the fortress. Further, witness saw that in addition to the rowers there were in the boat four other men, so that there were twelve persons in the boat. With this boat they went up the river a considerable distance, toward the anchorage, and witness saw that from the boat the man they said was the master landed with two others, and the rest remained in the boat, withdrawing from

shore a good distance into the river—almost a stone's throw. Witness does not know what weapons they carried, except that under the sail witness saw a great bulk, which he supposes was arms which they carried in the boat. He believes this to have been the fact because from the fortress, when the boat was going up the river, witness asked the men in it (f. 20) who they were and what ship it was, and they answered him that they were English, and that the ship was English. He asked them twice and they answered him the same thing both times, as he has stated. Further, he believes the bulk was weapons because he has heard certain persons who went into the boat say that they saw that the Englishmen were well armed with many good weapons.

IV. In reply to the fourth question, witness affirmed his preceding statements, adding that when witness saw the ship she looked big to him, and as though she was not carrying much cargo. Persons who boarded her told witness that she was well supplied with many pieces of ordnance, and with many other weapons of all sorts. When she made sail the pilots who had gone out to bring her in returned to the harbour; and the warden asked them why the ship did not enter, but, on the contrary, made sail. These pilots said that they had found those aboard much disturbed; that they did not know for what reasons she was leaving, but so well supplied with ordnance was said ship, if the English grew angry neither the fortress nor the whole city would prove equal to prevent them from entering, if they chose.

V. In reply to the fifth question, witness deposed that he knows its content, for he saw that as soon as the master had landed he went to Licentiate Zuazo's house. Witness believes the licentiate and Diego Caballero (p. 40) who was there, called to him from Licentiate Zuazo's house, which overlooks the river. Witness saw that the master and two other men entered into Licentiate Zuazo's house, the master conversing with Licentiate Zuazo. So also the said master conversed with Diego Caballero, secretary of the Royal *Audiencia*. Witness does not know what was said. Witness saw that presently many respectable men of this city met in the licentiate's house

and witness believes they discussed the English ship's arrival, but he does not know what was said or what decision was reached.

VI. In reply to the sixth question, witness deposed that he saw the master and the two men who landed with him walking about this city, and later the same day he learned that the master returned to the ship and his two men remained on land until the next day.

VII. In reply to the seventh question, witness heard its content stated publicly at the time by many persons in this city, whose names he does not recall.

VIII. In reply to the eighth question, witness affirms his preceding statements; as for the rest, witness does not know except that he never again saw the master or those who came with him, either upon the river or elsewhere.

IX. In reply to the ninth question, witness deposed that he knows the content (f. 21) of the question. Asked how he knows, he stated that he knows because witness was at the time in the fortress and saw the cannon fired. An Indian fired it on order of the warden. The stone fell more than a bowshot from the ship, because it had had only a little powder. Witness saw the piece loaded and tamped and the warden remarked to witness that his sole purpose in firing the piece was to learn what people these were, and in order that they might send the small boat to him. Witness believes that it is the warden's duty to know this, inasmuch as the fortress is where it is, overlooking the harbour; witness believes the fortress was so situated precisely for this purpose.

X. In reply to the tenth question, witness deposed that he knows the content of the question. Asked how he knows, he said that he knows because he is the man whom the warden sent to deliver the message contained in the question to the judges who answered, first, that by Diego Mendez they would let him know what to do, and, again, when witness returned by the said warden's order (p. 42) the judges replied that by Diego Caballero they would advise him what to do.

In reply to the eleventh question, witness deposed that he knows the content of the question. Asked how he knows it,

he said that he was continuously, night and day, with the warden because his honour was ill; and the ship cleared, and in all the said time witness did not observe that any answer was made or sent to the warden as to what he was to do, and had such been sent witness would have known of it, since he was there continuously.

In reply to the twelfth question, witness deposed that he has heard its content stated in this city by certain persons, but he does not know it.

In reply to the thirteenth question, witness refers to his preceding deposition, which he affirms.

In reply to the fourteenth question, witness deposed that when the master was talking with Licentiate Zuazo witness heard him give the account contained in the question of his voyage, and say that his pilot and certain other men had died in Newfoundland, and later witness came to believe this to be untrue, because of the ship's manœuvres.

In reply to the fifteenth question, witness deposed that he has heard its content publicly stated in this city and (f. 22) witness saw a man who said that the crew of the ship, landing from the shallop, had captured him and stolen what clothing he had, and that they were armed with good bows and arrows; and that from an estate belonging to Licentiate Zuazo they took certain fowls and cazabe and fish.

This is what witness knows of the case and it is the truth, on the oath he took, and he signed it with his name: Juan de Loaysa.

And later, in the said city of Santo Domingo, on the ninth of the month of December in the year aforesaid, there appeared before me, the said notary, the said Juan Jimenez, acting for his principal, and he presented as witness in the case Francisco Merchant, resident in the said city, who, being duly sworn and examined according to the tenor of the questionnaire, deposed as follows:

I. In reply to the first question, witness deposed that he has known the warden, Francisco de Tapia, for more than four years now, and, being in Ocoa, which is eighteen leagues from this city, witness saw the English ship mentioned

in the question, lying out to sea, and met this ship's master.

II. In reply to the second question, witness deposed that he does not know.

III. In reply to the third question, witness deposed that he does not know.

IV. In reply to the fourth question, witness deposed that all he knows is that he saw the ship (p. 44) and heard certain of her crew say that she was English and that those aboard her were Englishmen.

V. In reply to the fifth question, witness deposed that he does not know.

VI. In reply to the sixth question, witness deposed that he does not know.

In reply to the seventh and eighth and ninth and tenth and eleventh and twelfth and thirteenth questions, witness deposed that he does not know.

In reply to the fourteenth question, witness deposed that while he was at Ocoa, a pinnace arrived there, carrying ten or twelve Englishmen. This pinnace came out from the said ship. As soon as they had come ashore, these Englishmen asked witness how the city of Santo Domingo was, and witness told them that all was well in the city. Witness asked them who they were and they said they were Englishmen, and that the ship was English, belonging to the king of England, and that she was loaded with cloths and linens, and that they had gone to Newfoundland and found the land very cold. They said that the pilots aboard were the best who had ever come thither, and had brought them to the city of Santo Domingo. This was when the ship was en route to this city. Witness gave them certain fresh fish (f. 23) he had that they might eat, and they then went back into their pinnace, and came on toward this city.

Three or four days later the ship reappeared there and put off a boat with thirty or so men, armed with bows and arrows and swords and targets, and the boat was well supplied with firearms and a big cannon. As soon as they had landed they went to Licentiate Zuazo's estate and inquired if meat was

to be had there for their money, and when they were told that there was not, they took all the hens and chickens and capons they could, and more than four hundred eggs, and all the clothing belonging to the Indians and negroes, and certain loads of *cazabe*. Thence they went down to the river to a hut belonging to Francisco Medel, fisherman, and there took as many as a hundred and fifty *arrobas* of fish (a little more), and stripped witness of what clothing he had on and off his person, and carried it away with them. From there they went to Alexos Miguel's farm and carried off all the hens they could, and the farmer's clothing, to the point of leaving him in his shirt.

They made threats against everybody in this city, and against the city itself, saying that they would assemble (p. 46) as many as six ships and come to this island, and that their sole purpose now was to become acquainted with its ports against their return. They said to witness: "Tell those Indian dogs¹ that they shall pay!" Especially one of them, who put his finger on his forehead, saying: "By my head, they shall pay for it!" . . .²

¹ "Dy a esos perros Indios seRegines mata X̄pi que ellos lo pagaran!" The insult doubtless contained in the word "serregines" is lost on the translator. "Mata X̄pi" is "kill-Christians," i.e. "Christian-killers."

² For brevity's sake the concluding legal formalities have been omitted. For Tapia, his lawyer, Juan Jimenez, requests a legalized copy of the foregoing evidence, and the document here translated, witnessed in Santo Domingo, on December 9, 1527, by Juan de Loaysa and Francisco de Mayorga, signed by Lope de Bardeci, governor's lieutenant, and certified by Gonzalo Gomez, notary, is the legalized copy which he obtained. An annotation on the back shows that it had reached Madrid by March 11, 1528.

Document No. 2¹

[The Crown to the Judges of the *Audiencia* of
Santo Domingo, Madrid, March 27, 1528.]

(f. 260 r.)

†

The King

Our judges of our High Court of Justice and Equity for the Indies which sits in La Española:

I saw your letter of December 9 of last year²...³. (f. 261)

*Reply to the
judges of La
Española*

With respect to what you say of the English ship which anchored in the harbour of the city of Santo Domingo in that island, I would have been much pleased had you taken and detained it, and had there not been such carelessness in this matter; for, as you will have learned, we are at war with the king of England, and even were we not, it would have been well had you learned what voyage the ship was making and what she carried, and had not let the master and men of said ship go (as go they did), after they had landed and visited the city, and seen how it lies, and its harbour, inasmuch as they were from a foreign kingdom, and this was a thing not heretofore experienced in those parts. Nor can you exonerate yourselves in the matter, for there was great carelessness and negligence.

As for the warden, (f. 261 r.) Francisco de Tapia, we have seen what you write, and certain evidence⁴ taken on his petition; and it is to be supposed that if he fired the shot, as you say, which caused the ship to leave, it was not with malice aforethought. You will consider the evidence⁵ and suit which you have brought against him in the matter, and

¹ *A. de I.* 139-1-7, XIII, ff. 260 *et seq.* Record copy.

² Unavailing search has been made for this document; if ever found it may determine the identity of the English ship and of her master.

³ Here and elsewhere, following, irrelevant paragraphs have been omitted, such omissions being indicated by dots. Similarly, superscriptions have been omitted; but instructive notes and decrees, frequently written on the back of documents along with the superscription, have been used.

⁴ Document No. 1, *ante*, Part B.

⁵ Document No. 1, *ante*, Part A (?).

act upon it as you may find justice to require, and you will send us a report¹ of your procedure and decision. Meanwhile, if he should have been removed from the fortress, you will restore him to office, that he may hold it and be in it until such time as (we having seen the case) such action shall be taken as may accord with justice and the good of the service....
(f. 264)

Madrid, March 27, 1528.

I, the king.

By order of his majesty, Francisco de los Cobos. Marked by the bishop of Osma and Doctor Beltran and the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo.

Document No. 3²

[Licentiates Espinoza and Zuazo to the Crown,
Santo Domingo, March 30, 1528.]

(p. 1)

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Sacred Caesarian Catholic Majesty

In a ship which cleared from here at the end of December of last year we reported³ to your majesty on the arrival of an English ship which came and crossed to these parts and was anchored in the port of this city and the captain landed. We reported fully everything which occurred and everything this ship did. A caravel which the officials of the island of San Juan sent here with similar report was sent as a despatch-boat. Therefore, and because the vice-provincial of the Order of Saint Dominic for these islands and Fray Antonio Montesino will recount everything with respect to this English ship and the captain and crew she carried, since they were eye-witnesses, no further report is made to your majesty in this matter.

¹ Not seen.

² *A. de I. 2-1-3/22, 5 pliegos*, original.

³ Note No. 2, p. 56, *ante*.

But we immediately summoned a council in which all estates in this city, secular and ecclesiastic, were represented, and we conferred concerning what should be done and provided in order that this city and island and the others might be on guard.

Having studied the matter, because of the grave suspicion we entertain that this English ship and captain and crew carried home a report on everything here, and visited and explored all this land and its ports and learned its present military condition; inasmuch as they think and are informed that from these parts proceeds a great quantity of the gold which supports your majesty in the war¹; and have seen how poorly protected this island is, great fear is felt here lest, since they have seen it, they may send against this land, to do it all the damage they may be able, and destroy everything here (p. 2) and bring it all to confusion.

Therefore it seemed to us to be for the good of your majesty's service that your majesty be truly informed of the present state of all things here, and of the scanty means this land possesses wherewith to defend itself and to resist any foreigners who may present themselves in strength to attempt to conquer it; and that your majesty be informed of the remedy which it seems to us, here, that your majesty could and should order applied, in order that, in view of the facts and our opinion, your majesty may provide as your majesty may deem best for the good of the service...².

Done in Santo Domingo on the thirtieth day of March in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-eight.

Your Sacred Caesarian Catholic Majesty's most humble servitors and servants who kiss your majesty's very royal feet.

The Licentiate Espinosa (Rubric).

The Licentiate Alonso de Cuaço (Rubric)...³.

¹ Note No. 2, p. 5, *ante*.

² A long general report follows. It has no bearing on the matter in hand.

³ Judges of the *Audiencia*.

Document No. 4¹

[Hawkins' license to trade on the north coast of La Española,
dated at La Isabela, April 19, 1563.]

(p. 1)

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...I, Licentiate Bernaldez, captain commissioned by his majesty against the English who are upon this coast of La Isabela, do hereby state that whereas according to the articles I have entered into with you, Captain John Hawkins, concerning the negroes and the caravel which you delivered to me for his majesty, it was agreed that you may sell the thirty-five negroes which remain to you, and are the fourth part of the hundred and forty you had aboard your ships when I reached this coast, provided that you or the purchaser of same pay to his majesty his license charges and customs duties;

To assure this payment I charge you and whosoever may purchase to satisfy Francisco de Cevallos, his majesty's treasurer, in the amount of the said license charges and customs duties;

And by these presents in so far as I am authorized and by law may so do, and no further, I grant you license to sell the said thirty-five negroes, with the proviso above set forth; provided further that you sell them within twenty days and within the said period furnish your ships and depart. Otherwise I may freely attack you.

Done on this coast on April 19, 1563.

The Licentiate Bernaldez.

By his order, Alvaro Ortiz, notary....

¹ *A. de I. 53-6-12, 1 pliego*, legalized copy, made on March 12, 1564, from still another made on May 7, 1563, from the original which was delivered to Hawkins. Other copies of the license are preserved in *A. de I. 2-5-1/20, 10*.

Document No. 5¹

[The Licentiate Alonso Arias de Herrera² to the crown,
Santo Domingo, May 20, 1563.]

(f. 264)

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Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty

(f. 265 r.) . . . A Lutheran Englishman with a large ship and a shallop, both well supplied with artillery, and a caravel and a large bark, both handsome vessels³, which they had taken from merchants as they left the Portuguese islands, arrived off the town of Puerto de Plata in this island. As soon as the captain and *alcaldes* of this town saw them, fearing lest they march inland to pillage the country, they entered into negotiations with them to the end of procuring their departure and inquired of them what they wanted. The English said they would go if they were shown a port where they could careen a caravel and shallop. In order to get rid of them they sent them to the port of La Isabela, which is twelve leagues from there.

The *alcalde* at once advised me of what was happening and immediately I sent a certain Licentiate Bernaldez, lawyer of this *Audiencia*, who is a diligent man and knows the country thoroughly. He was instructed to use all possible means to endeavour to arrest those Lutherans and seize their goods and not to allow a man to trade an article.

He went and in the adjacent settlements raised as many as seventy horsemen, who proceeded to a hut to which the English were accustomed to come. Advancing by night and

¹ *A. de I.* 53-6-5, II, ff. 264 *et seq.*, 2 *pliegos*, original.

² Commissioned president of the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo, January 22, 1560, *cédula* dated at Toledo, in *A. de I.* 78-3-8, I, f. 202 r.

³ Cf. Hakluyt, x, pp. 7-8. Hawkins cleared from Plymouth in October, 1562, with three ships. In *A. de I.* 47-3-51/8, f. 5 r. is preserved in copy a list furnished to Licentiate Echegoyan which purports to name thirteen vessels "taken by the English" in Guinea ports. The last line of this list states that "They brought along a caravel belonging to Tristan de la Vega." This would explain the fourth sail with which Hawkins arrived at Puerto de Plata and also his possession of the vessel delivered to Treasurer Cevallos, mentioned in Document No. 4, *ante*.

endeavouring to discover and encounter them, they came upon three Englishmen, very well armed with arquebuses, who were spies and sentinels for the English, whom they seized. When the English became aware of their presence they retired and put to sea, believing this was a larger body of men than it was in fact, and sent to demand the prisoners of the said licentiate (f. 266) adding that they would conduct themselves courteously and give what might be desired.

Seeing how small a force he had compared with the Englishman's, the licentiate replied that he was agreeable. They then came up and the Englishman said that he would give one hundred and four head of slaves. In fine, they reached an agreement, but when it came to delivery the Englishman hung back a little in handing them over, demanding that the licentiate first give him written authorization to dispose by barter of thirty other pieces he had. The licentiate answered that he could not do so since his commission read quite to the contrary—that he could do no such thing. Nevertheless the Englishman again insisted that he give him this authorization as best he could, since it was nothing to him; wherefore, in order to get possession of his negroes, the licentiate gave it to him in so far as he was legally empowered to do so and no further. He obtained the slaves and turned them over to the treasurer of that town. Having consulted your majesty's royal officials, the *Audiencia* sent order to sell these slaves to the burghers of those places, who had had to do with the matter, because of their need of slaves.

They wrote me from that town that the English had another hundred slaves hidden and were trading them to the settlers there and elsewhere. Instantly Licentiate Villoria, your majesty's counsel's assistant, was despatched with a receiver of the *Audiencia* to investigate the whole matter aforesaid and arrest the culprits and sequester their goods and sell the said pieces in that town in the presence of your majesty's officials.

I have reported this matter to your majesty at such length because I am aware that many persons intend to write to your majesty concerning it, and are writing, in sense quite

contrary to this (which is the truth of the business) with intent to fix blame on certain persons without cause or reason except their own ends which they must have in view, themselves being, perhaps, (f. 266 r.) the most guilty in the affair. I will advise your majesty of what action they may take.

I entreat your majesty to deign to employ me in some other post where I may serve your majesty better. These people oppose justice here and bear a not friendly attitude toward me because ever since I arrived I have endeavoured to enforce your majesty's commands and royal *cédulas*, particularly with respect to vessels which enter this port without manifests and are seized....

Our Lord preserve the sacred Catholic royal person of your majesty, granting your majesty prosperity in increase of greater kingdoms, as we, your majesty's servitors, desire.

Santo Domingo, May 20, 1563.

Your majesty's humble servant who kisses your majesty's feet,

The Licentiate Alonso de Herrera (Rubric)....

Document No. 6¹

[Licentiate Echegoyan to the crown,
Santo Domingo, July 28, 1563.]

(f. 273)

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Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty

In another letter², which I entreat your majesty to see, . . . I advise your majesty and also your majesty's officials of the House of Trade in Seville of a certain matter, and much should I regret it if any further³ delay of the said ships should prevent this news from arriving in time. In this account I will be brief, for the matter is such that it speaks for itself and speaks volubly.

To wit, some three or four months ago, at Puerto de Plata and Monte Christi, which are ports in this island, there arrived four English ships, large and small, with a quantity of negroes and other merchandise. Learning of the matter by way of a message from the officials at Puerto de (f. 273 r.) . . . [torn] to arrest the English and seize their ships and negroes . . . [torn] any person from trading with the said English under the heavy penalties contained in a certain royal *cédula* of your majesty's.

This being the state of the matter, there having occurred no innovation, much less any remissness on the part of the law officers and officials of said ports to whom it had been committed, one Licentiate Lorenzo Bernaldez (recently converted Christian, whose brother is son-in-law to Licentiate Angulo, former judge of this *Audiencia*) was given a com-

¹ *A. de I. 53-6-5*, II, ff. 273 *et seq.*, 1½ pliegos, original.

² In *A. de I. 53-6-5*, II, p. 262, to the crown, Santo Domingo, May 27, 1563, Licentiate Echegoyan refers to another letter of his of about the same date in which it appears that he transmitted the information upon which the government acted to arrest Santiesteban and Tipton. See also *A. de I. 47-3-51/8*, 5, f. 5 r., Licentiate Echegoyan to the House of Trade, Santo Domingo, November 2, 1563, reference to a preceding communication.

³ The vessels conveying his despatches written in May had been driven back to port by bad weather.

mission to go out against the English. This was contrary to my opinion in the matter and I did not sign it.

He stated that he captured two Englishmen and to ransom them the English delivered to your majesty one hundred and five slaves, which are in the possession of your majesty's officials in those ports. He said the English repeatedly offered these slaves in exchange for a permit to trade and in the accompanying certificate it appears that they did deliver them in exchange for license to dispose of the cargoes. According to the permit, he authorized them to sell thirty-five negroes, and¹...thirty-five for one hundred and five. The said permit is tinted with deceit and the case involves more than I can here lay before your majesty.

Since the licentiate went out as captain against them, according to the text of said permit, why did he not arrest them? How does it happen that he entered into an arrangement with heretics, as the document states? How is it that the Englishman gave...slaves? The *Audiencia* is writing of the matter.

Further, all the merchandise the said English had was stolen goods, taken off the coast of Guinea from a man named Francisco Espindola. In brief, this has been a very scandalous business. I conferred regarding it with Licentiate Valderrama, of your majesty's council, who was in this city, with whose opinion I agree that I should inform your majesty.

The English cleared with three vessels. They delivered their caravel to your majesty in the course of the transaction described. They depart laden with hides and other merchandise and they are carrying off what gold and silver was available there.

I rather fear they have taken along a hulk belonging to the Martinez', burghers of Seville, which hulk and another vessel which happened to be there cleared five or six days before the English did. They carry hides to certain English,

¹ In binding this document into the volume where it is preserved, parts of words and words are lost at the edges, which make close translation impossible.

concerning which matter I am writing to your majesty's officials that they may seize the merchandise, taking all measures necessary to that end. Of this, the *Audiencia* is not writing, but since the court is writing¹, I report upon it and would urge that certain other versions of it be not believed.

Inasmuch as the captain was sent as he was, given the circumstances, even though your majesty's judges desire to do justice, he is so favoured¹ [it is impossible]. I wish justice might be done in this business—already there is complaint of me—and I wish further that an accounting might be exacted of what your majesty's treasury has lost. In the transfer of those one hundred and five slaves your majesty's interests suffered heavily. A *juez de comisión* was despatched to proceed, not against the said captain, but against those who had purchased slaves. Since he had issued the said permit, I have nothing further to say!...

(f. 274 r.) . . . Santo Domingo in La Española, July 28, 1563.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty

Your majesty's very humble servant who kisses your majesty's royal feet,

The Licentiate Echegoyan (Rubric) . . .

¹ The composition is involved and faulty.

Document No. 7¹

[Licentiate Lorenzo Bernaldez to the crown (Memorial),
Santo Domingo, August (?), 1563 (?).]

(f. 280)

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Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty

The Licentiate Lorenzo Bernaldez, burgher of the city of Santo Domingo in the island La Española and lawyer of the royal Court of Chancery which sits therein, represents to your majesty that:

Your majesty's president and judges of the said court, being informed that in the port of La Isabela, which is in the unpopulated regions which lie between the settlements of Monte Christi and Puerto de Plata on the north shore of this island, there were four ships belonging to English corsairs, very well armed and laden with negroes and other merchandise which the English were selling and trading to the burghers of those towns;

Fearing many inconvenient consequences which might arise out of their presence there, especially some of religious aspect and also bearing upon the safety of the island, ordered me with the greatest secrecy and diligence to go to the said port and in settlements along the way to raise the force I might deem necessary and to endeavour to arrest and kill these English, for they were informed that they came ashore and remained on land;

And to serve your majesty and to obey the orders issued to me by your majesty's president and judges in your majesty's royal name, I left with as great speed and diligence as I was able. I raised one hundred and twenty horsemen on pretence that they were wanted to go against negroes in rebellion, with whom, travelling through unpopulated regions in order that the English might not have word of me and even sometimes blazing our own trail, myself being never the last to begin the task, as your majesty will learn from the very lengthy

¹ *A. de I. 53-6-5, 1, ff. 280 et seq., 2 pliegos, original.*

evidence¹ which at my petition has been taken in the matter (f. 280 r.) I went to the said port, where I remained some days without showing myself, having out spies continually to inform me if the English landed, in order to get the advantage of them. During this time I endured not a little hardship and hunger;

And during this time, because they had been warned, as I will presently indicate to your majesty, the English did not land, except their general with as many as twenty arquebusiers, and this on the other side of a very large river which runs there, having first sent out toward the side of the river where I was, three arquebusiers to discover and examine the field, of whom I captured two but the other hid in the bush;

Learning from these that their captain with that force was on the other side of the river and that he was informed concerning me and the poor likelihood I had of getting the advantage of them, for their ships were more than half a league from shore and I had not a single boat in which to go out to them, as soon as I had captured these men, before the rest could learn of it, I endeavoured to swim the river. I and some of my companions having gone into the river, the current overcame our horses so that some of the animals were drowned, but their riders saved themselves by swimming, losing, however, their mounts and arms. Having lost the hope of offending the English in this way and because the said captain had become aware of us and re-embarked in his ships in great haste, and because my men were wearied with marching through the bush without food, for we had sought to conceal our presence, I now showed myself to the said English with the force I had, forbidding them to land where previously they had taken on meat, water and firewood;

One of them who had lived long in Cadiz acting as interpreter, they besought me to return to them the two men whom I had captured, offering that of one hundred and forty negroes they had left they would give me three-fourths provided that I would permit them to sell the other thirty-five (f. 281) in order to return to their country, thence to petition

¹ The document described in Note No. 1, p. 11, *ante*.

your majesty to order the said negroes to be returned to them, for they said they had come to this island driven by chance and stress of weather while en route to the Canary Islands, where they had business arrangements with one Pedro de Ponte;

In order to prevent them from doing damage in those ports, as it was very easy for them to do, I accepted this proposal provided they would let me send men aboard their ships to see whether they had more negroes than they said they had. Finally they admitted four of my men, leaving me others of theirs as hostages, which four inspected the ships and on oath declared that in the said ships there were only one hundred and forty negroes, large and small, and that the said ships were very well armed and ready for action;

In view of which, with the advice of certain leading men who were with me, I decided to deceive them, extending them the permit they asked of me but couched in such form that it would have no validity whatever; and so I received for your majesty one hundred and five negroes, large and small, which I immediately there delivered over to Francisco de Ceballos, your majesty's treasurer in Puerto de Plata, the nearest settlement, and I gave the English a written document signed by myself in which I said that in so far as I was legally authorized to do and no further, I gave them license to sell thirty-five negroes, the purchaser of same previously to possess himself of a certificate from your majesty's treasurer to the effect that the 30 ducats license and all other duties payable on each piece had been collected;

After the said negroes belonging to your majesty had been placed in safety, in the presence of all the people I had with me, among whom were burghers of Monte Christi and Santiago and Puerto de la Plata, I warned them that none should trade with the said English nor buy any negroes of them, for any who did so would be well punished and lose their money, and not to be deceived by the permit I had given them, for it was entirely worthless, nor had I any authority to issue it (f. 281 r.), inasmuch as my commission authorized me only to arrest or kill the said English, and I read them the commission I had, and with this dismissed them, that each might retire to

his home, and I came to this city, as will all appear at length to your majesty in the evidence in the case which this court at my petition ordered to be received.

After I had arrived in this city Licentiate Echegoyan, your majesty's judge, began to advertise that the said English had given me one hundred slaves, and to investigate this case and that of persons who had traded with the said English before I went out, Licentiate Villoria, crown counsel at the time, was sent out as *juez de comisión*, and what your majesty's judge asserted in this matter was proven as true as his story about the galleon¹ San Pedro and other reports he made to your majesty, moved by his private interests more than by desire for the good of the service, as will be proven* in due time when your majesty shall so order.

The rectitude of my conduct will appear in the evidence, which is rather to be believed than the unsupported assertion of the said licentiate, who long before this entertained mortal rancour toward me, as he still does, simply because I am a lawyer and a friend of Licentiates Cepeda and Angulo, both of whom he has so unwarrantedly defamed², and also because I petitioned to have evidence taken to show that he had the English warned and that they were warned, three or four days before I reached them, for which reason my going had less effect than it might have had.

I have reported this matter to your majesty so lengthily and in such detail because I have been informed that your majesty's said judge has sent your majesty a copy³ of the permit, stating that he sends it that, when I appear before your majesty, as I am now en route to do, in company with Don Cristóbal Colón⁴, as *procurador general* for this island,

¹ *A. de I.* 47-3-51/8; 78-3-8, 1, f. 187 r., etc., etc. The galleon *San Pedro* put in at Ocoa and Licentiate Echegoyan alleged that it was Portuguese and had not proper shipping papers, etc.

² *A. de I.* 78-3-8, 1, f. 185, *cédula*, Toledo, September 26, 1560, commissioning Licentiate Echegoyan to make the usual investigation (*residencia*) into Cepeda's conduct as judge of the *Audiencia*. There was usually little friendship between a retiring official and the one, entering, so commissioned "to take his *residencia*."

³ Compare Document No. 4, *ante*.

⁴ The Columbus family in Santo Domingo was fairly numerous at this time.

your majesty may order me to be beheaded; and with those with whom he talks he makes bets that this will happen, although I am more certain that your majesty will, instead, show me favour because of the service which I have rendered in the above-related matter and in others (f. 282) similar which have been entrusted to me, which I have carried out with fidelity and diligence. Nevertheless, lest the authority inherent in the office the said judge occupies engender suspicion against me, I determined to send this account; and if herein in a single point I report to your majesty more or less than the truth, may your majesty order me to be punished exemplarily, as it is right to punish those who report falsely to their kings and masters.

Our Lord preserve the royal person of your majesty through many years (since to do so is so important in His service) with increase of greater kingdoms and estates.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty

Your majesty's loyal and humble vassal kisses your majesty's royal feet.

The Licentiate Lorenzo Bernaldez (Rubric)....

Document No. 81

[Licentiate Echegoyan to the crown,
Santo Domingo, November 4, 1563.]

(f. 286)

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Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty

(f. 286 r.) . . . At greater length than I do in this despatch, I wrote² your majesty how four English ships, some large and some small, had arrived at Puerto de Plata and Monte Christi. They were laden with negroes and other merchandise, all stolen, it is understood, from vessels they encountered on the Guinea coast.

Informed of their arrival, this royal *Audiencia* despatched order to the municipal authorities and royal officials of those ports to arrest the English and seize their ships with their cargoes. Then, although the said authorities and officials had committed no innovation, Licentiate Herrera, your majesty's president of the court, and Doctor Cáceres, your majesty's judge, (f. 287) commissioned a lawyer of this court named Licentiate Lorenzo Bernaldez, to be captain in the case. At the time I was in Cotui, fourteen leagues from this city, and from there advised Licentiate Herrera against this measure. I declined to sign such a commission, in favour of such a person, giving him any authority whatsoever³.

As I have at greater length reported, this captain issued to the English a license to sell a certain number of slaves, as is set forth in the license itself, of which I sent your majesty a copy. That it may not be lacking, I enclose another copy herewith.

¹ *A. de I.* 53-6-5, II, ff. 286 *et seq.*, 2½ pliegos, original.

² Cf. p. 64, note 2.

³ The correctness of the translation as embodied in this last phrase is not guaranteed. Licentiate Echegoyan, a 16th-century lawyer, determined to enter charges against his associates but to do it so deftly that he could not be held to account for it, becomes something of a problem to a 20th-century translator! This despatch is in his own not too excellent handwriting. In addition to being intentionally vague in places, the text is complicated by the unintentional omission of a few verbs.

⁴ Cf. Document No. 4, *ante*.

I refrain from dilating upon the trickery embodied in this license, since I have previously enlarged upon the point, and it appears clearly in the text of the license. I have not, however, previously spoken of the captain himself, since to keep silent makes for peace and quietude; but I shall speak¹ when he may desire to depart, under pretence of attending to this island's affairs, as I will recount later.

In consequence, this royal *Audiencia* commissioned Licentiate Juan de Villoria to investigate the purchasers and officials, but not the captain-licentiate. I would be pleased to make this latter inquisition. Little as it has been looked into, the matter shows up ugly.

The evidence indicates that the license was issued and that on the strength of it the English sold their cargoes, and their three ships cleared laden, and they carried off what gold and silver and jewels there were in all that part of the country, and hides manifested in the name of third parties, concerning all which I have advised² your majesty's officials of the House of Trade at Seville, that they may take certain measures I indicated. I have told them that I was reporting to your majesty.

The captain collected guarantee of indemnity from the (f. 287 r.) burghers, and those whom Licentiate Villoria has sent here under arrest (incurring heavy expense) have exculpated themselves in writing by exhibiting the said license, and so the whole business comes to nought, and has been and still is a huge jest. This colony will shortly become England, unless a remedy is applied.

In other despatches I have remarked that the *Audiencia* is right to have urged and to urge again that no credence be given reports of this affair, for certainly since so much is reported it cannot all be true. The only thing I regret is that in all the *Audiencia*'s despatches such excellent judges should fail to mention the damage done by Licentiate Bernaldez whom they sent out. As a matter of fact I gather that your majesty's judges are not responsible for these evil consequences, inasmuch as Licentiate Angulo, formerly your

¹ Translation dubious.

² Note No. 2, p. 64.

majesty's judge, deceives them with infernal cleverness. I have previously reported this, and that it may be believed do greatly desire that your majesty order an investigation. It is advisable to mete out justice in this case. For the reasons above given, and others to follow, although goodwill is not lacking, nothing will be done here. I will keep your majesty informed in every detail. (f. 288)

Further, it is suspected that your majesty has been advised concerning this incident of the English and therefore your majesty's president of the court and Dr Cáceres managed to have Licentiate Captain Bernaldez sent to court as procurator general for the island, since to go in such capacity would seem to accredit him. Being at court he could prevent any action from being taken against the president and associate judges. I know nothing further of the matter.

By imprisonment and force they have persuaded some of the councilmen and *alcaldes* and by threats of difficulties and adverse decisions in their lawsuits they have influenced others to vote against their inclination and send the captain as procurator general. I believe the city is writing your majesty of the matter¹. Certain it is that this they did.

I repeat, this they did, and the incident of the English occurred exactly as I have related it. Although another version may be sent with evidence, this is the truth, and if your majesty find it otherwise, may your majesty end my career. Because they are my associates on the bench and I bear them all affection, and because, as above said, I do not feel that they are notably at fault in this matter, had I not communicated with Licentiate Valderrama of your majesty's council, who advised me to inform your majesty, and because the affair is being hushed up and it is my duty not to cover such matters, therefore do I write, much against my desire.

The captain's brother is married to a daughter of Licentiate

¹ *A. de I.* 53-6-5, 1, f. 221, Toribio de Vadillo, *alcalde*, and others to the crown, Santo Domingo, October 25, 1563. See also f. 292, the *Audiencia* to the crown, December 14, 1563; 1, f. 247, Juan Caballero de la Puebla, *alcalde*, and others to the crown, April 5, 1564; and the crown's reprimand contained in *cédula* of February 7, 1564, in *A. de I.* 78-3-8, 1, f. 334 r.

Angulo, and he is very rich. So, too, is Licentiate Angulo, whose wealth imposes quietude—not because he participated in the profits, for he is a well-intentioned, good person. The captain is a son and grandson of recent converts from Jewry, as will appear from evidence¹ accompanying this communication. To prove his services he relies on depositions made by persons under obligation to him and upon farcical witnesses. As a matter of fact he has not served your majesty on this occasion—quite the contrary! (f. 289) The *Audiencia* withholds punishment, as appears from the papers. I do not know the reason for this dissimulation. When he arrives at court your majesty will take the requisite measures.

The Englishman gave one hundred and five negroes for the license; and not for the reason the *Audiencia* states....

Santo Domingo, November 4, 1563.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty, your majesty's very humble servant kisses your majesty's royal feet.

Licentiate Echegoyan (Rubric).

¹ *A. de I. 53-6-12, información*, Santo Domingo, December 1, 1548.

Document No. 9¹

[Antonio de Barrios² to Licentiate Alonso Bernaldez³,
Borburata, April 4, 1565.]

(f. 81)

+

Very Magnificent Sir

The clumsiness of my pen and brevity of the time available have constrained me to write by the hand of another. The situation is that yesterday, Tuesday, there appeared off this town seven⁴ sails, one⁵ of which vessels is very powerful. The fleet is English and so rich in slaves and merchandise that they affirm it to be worth more than 100,000 *pesos*. The commander is an Englishman who time past came to Santo Domingo. He advertises that he is a great servitor of [your honour] his majesty⁶. His intention is to sell with authorization and unless this license is given him he threatens with great oaths to do what harm and damage he may be able.

Your honour is already aware of the necessity existing in all the province and of the serious illnesses all the province is suffering because of its penury. I entreat your honour to deign to come to apply the remedy, for the best good of all. All the settlements will ask and formally demand it and even furnish depositions as to the general need and hardship and epidemics due to (p. 162) this situation, in which matter

¹ *A. de I.* 47-3-52/9, ff. 81 *et seq.*, 1 *pliego*, original, sewn into the records.

² Governor's lieutenant and deputy treasurer at Borburata.

³ By commission of the *Audiencia* at Santo Domingo, governor of Venezuela, and resident at Coro.

⁴ Cf. *Principal Navigations*, x, pp. 9 *et seq.* Hawkins had added three sail to his fleet since he left Plymouth.

⁵ The *Jesus of Lubeck*.

⁶ This letter was amended, as the original plainly shows, to read as here translated: "...a great servitor of his majesty." It was later charged that originally it read "a great servitor of your honour," thereby implying a friendliness toward Governor Bernaldez which that official could not afford to advertise that Hawkins felt. It was also alleged (*A. de I.* 47-3-52/9, f. 251) that Hawkins brought with him a letter to Governor Bernaldez from his uncle, Licentiate Bernaldez of Santo Domingo, which introduction was sent to the governor along with this present communication from his lieutenant at Borburata.

neither God, Our Lord, nor his majesty is well served. The royal revenues would be augmented and the country benefitted, for this captain promises to please everybody. He brings more than four hundred negroes.

If by chance your honour does not come to apply the remedy, as we all desire and entreat your honour to do, having taken the measures above said, of having all the people ask it and furnish depositions, I beg your honour to deign to extend the license and open the way, for in addition to the benefit and relief this would mean to all, and increase of the royal revenue, to do so will obviate the great damage and hardship we anticipate.

The captain has agreed to wait ten days, to be reckoned from to-morrow, Thursday the 5th, and so it behoves your honour to hurry or at least send some messenger to advise of your honour's arrival, for which we confidently hope, since it would be an act of great charity and relief to all.

What gold there was in his majesty's chest, Pacheco¹ carries. I see no better remedy than to let this fellow sell, for in addition to the duties he will pay, a quantity of gold will be smelted....

There is nothing more to write, except to entreat your honour to come. Greater evil is ahead of us, for if the town is burned (f. 82) it will mean its abandonment, in addition to which we will be turned into the woods in weather bad enough to kill us even were we strong, as we are not, but very sickly.

Our Lord preserve the magnificent person of your honour, augmenting your honour's estate with higher offices in His holy service.

* There is no news of any sort except that the writer kisses your honour's hands and begs to remain yours,

From Borburata, April 4, 1565.

Very magnificent sir, your servant kisses your honour's hands,

Antonio de Barrios (Rubric).

¹ Juan Pacheco. Cf. Document No. 10 following.

Document No. 10¹

[Juan Pacheco, deposition, Borburata, April 16, 1565.]

(p. 198) . . . The said Juan Pacheco, transient in this city, witness presented by Alonso de Valenzuela², was sworn *Witness* according to law and, having sworn, and being questioned according to the tenor of the said petition, deposed that what he knows of the matter is that:

Deponent being in this city, whence he had come from that of Coro, there arrived here three or four (f. 100) English ships and three shallop, which occasioned great disturbance in the town when the people saw how powerful the vessels were. Immediately all the citizens with their wives endeavoured to get into safety, since they were not strong enough to defend themselves.

When the fleet had anchored, as it did anchor off the town among the islets, the commander of the said ships came to land in a small boat and to talk with the citizens of this town sent ashore a Castillian he had with him, named Llerena³, burgher of Jamaica, whom (according as the said Llerena told deponent) they had taken in Guinea where he was long a prisoner of the negroes.

Llerena spoke with the lieutenant of this city and with the accountant, deponent being present, and told them who the English captain was, and that he was come with a quantity of negroes to sell, and that he wanted license to do so. If given this license he was willing to pay his majesty the duties

¹ *A. de I. 47-3-52/9, ff. 99 et seq.*

² In response to Barrios' letter (Document No. 9, *ante*) Governor Bernaldez came down to Borburata. He affected unwillingness to deal with Hawkins and reminded the citizens of the law against such traffic. The municipality then elected Alonso de Valenzuela its procurator in the case and he assembled witnesses and took their depositions to effect that to avoid grave consequences it was imperative to grant Hawkins the license to trade which he demanded. Juan Pacheco was one of these witnesses.

³ Llerena is described as "a negro . . . who had been brought up in Portugal," whom Hawkins used as an interpreter and brought back to England with him; again, as "a Merchant, and inhabitant in Jamaica." See *Cal. S.P., etc., Simancas*, I, p. 523, No. 336; *Principal Navigations*, x, pp. 43-5.

which might accrue to him on whatever he might sell; and in granting this license they would be doing the people of this city a service. If they did not give him the license he would do the best he could for himself. Deponent also heard this from the said captain next day, when he came ashore in the morning to talk with the lieutenant and accountant.

They answered that they could not extend this license until they should have advised the governor who was in the city of Coro, and added that to inform him ten days would be necessary in which to get a reply. The captain general did not wish to agree to this. He said it was too long a time, for them to begin trading at once with him, or otherwise he would take his own measures to cover the costs and expenses of his expedition. To this (p. 200) the lieutenant and accountant replied, urging him to observe that he was wrong, for they could not act without informing the governor. If he ordered or acted contrariwise he would not be conducting himself as a knightly gentleman and servitor, which he claimed to be, of his majesty [King Philip]¹. By use of these and other pleasant words, in talking on, the said captain [was persuaded] to concede the space of ten days in which to send the said advice and await the license. Forthwith deponent left for the city of Coro with letters from the lieutenant and accountant² for the governor and to inform him of what was occurring.

As soon as he had arrived, for he did arrive, the governor saw the report made to him and that it was advisable for him to come at once to take charge of the matter, for the best good of God's and his majesty's services, that this city might not be ruined nor its citizens perish through refusal to grant the license.

¹ Hawkins' alleged remarks in this connection are curious. Given the date of them, Hawkins can have been referring only to whatever relation he may have had with Philip at the time the Spanish monarch visited England and was lavishly entertained by the Corporation of Plymouth, where Hawkins, young as he was, had succeeded to his father's local prominence. In *A. de I. 51-3-81/5*, p. 59, Juanes de Urquiza, a pilot who seems to have had it from Hawkins, states that Hawkins was the first man Philip knighted in England, a favour for which Hawkins was always grateful.

² Diego Ruiz de Vallejo.

The governor left Coro and came to this city, where he has been requested and petitioned to give the license to the said captain to trade freely on payment of his majesty's duties, which license deponent believes it would be a great service to God and to his royal majesty to give to him, although he is a foreigner and of a irrationality with which his majesty has prohibited trade. For if it be not given him, having waited the said length of time, and, as is publicly known, having spent almost 2000 ducats while he waited here, he would now do more damage than he first threatened, and so he has said openly, and even privately to deponent, when deponent told him that the governor was coming, (f. 101) for he asked deponent if the governor was of a mind to grant the license, and when deponent replied that he did not know, the Englishman grew violent and swore an oath that he was a great servitor of King Philip, our master, and that if the permit was not given him, from here down the whole coast he would leave not a thing standing upright, that he would do all the damage he could, that we were not to think he was a corsair thief, for he was a very fine gentleman, his majesty's servitor, since he had been in his service when he was king of England; if the license were denied he would quickly enough destroy everything and do much more damage than he described, for he had great means to do it; and if even a slight occasion were given him for displeasure, merely burning this town, which would be the easiest possible thing for him to do, would suffice to destroy its inhabitants.

Many would die of sickness occasioned by the rainy season, and if scattered in the woods their lives would be endangered, especially since in these regions there are very many Indians and they have killed many Spaniards. They are on the alert to learn when there are French in the port in order to fall on the people of the town and destroy them, as they have done on certain occasions, even when the Indians were at peace; and it is even feared that they might close in hand to hand; for they are great archers and full of military stratagems.

The expedition against Caracas, which his majesty has so

commended to the governor, for which he has commissioned Captain Juan Maldonado, resident in the New Kingdom [of Granada], (p. 202) who is expected here every day to carry out the campaign, must be abandoned if this city is abandoned, as deponent believes it certainly will be abandoned, unless the English captain's request is granted. For deponent believes that were Borburata abandoned the inhabitants of Valencia would also be in great danger from the Indians, and he considers that God, Our Lord, and his royal majesty will be better served by granting the said license than by ruining the people of this city and Valencia and risking the safety of the whole province and the entire coast [by refusing to grant it].

This is what deponent knows and his opinion, on the oath he took, and in further assurance and declaration of the English captain's intentions, in benefit of the community if the license be granted and in its detriment if it be refused, deponent refers to a demand¹ the Englishman has made on the governor, which demand is in the possession of the clerk here present. And this deponent stated to be the truth on the oath he swore, and he signed it with his name, and said that he was about nineteen years of age.—Juan Pacheco....

¹ Document No. 11, *post.*

Document No. II¹

[John Hawkins to Licentiate Alonso Bernaldez, petition,
Borburata, April 16, 1565.]

(p. 176) ... On the sixteenth day of April in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-five, the following petition was presented² before the governor, Licentiate Bernaldez:

*Before the
governor the
Englishman
asks license to
sell, paying
duties.
He³ can do
nothing else.*

Very magnificent sir: I, John Hawkins, captain general of my fleet, in the person of Cristóbal de Llerena, my (f. 89) procurator, appear before your honour in the manner most advantageous to my interests, and state that:

Whereas by order of Elizabeth, queen of England, my mistress, whose fleet this is, I cleared on a certain voyage, and was by contrary weather driven to these coasts where, since I have found a convenient harbour, it behoves me to repair and refurnish my ships to continue said voyage;

And whereas to do this I have need to sell the slaves and merchandise I carry;

And whereas I am a great servitor of the majesty of King Philip, whom I served when he was king of England;

I therefore petition your honour to grant me license to sell my cargo. I stand ready to pay his majesty the duties usual in this land and to sell the said merchandise at acceptable prices;

And whereas in addition to repairing and refurnishing my fleet, I am obliged to pay my ships and men in each port entered;

And whereas I do not desire to offend or occasion difficulties, petitioning, as I petition, your honour to grant me the license requested under which to sell to the Spanish in order that I may purchase of them;

If this petition be not granted, I shall seek my own solution, for I cannot leave this port, nor will I leave, without supplying my said necessities, for even were I willing to do so, yet am I unable, for I cannot prevail with my people;

¹ *A. de I. 47-3-52/9, ff. 88 et seq.*

² In his turn, to represent him before the governor, Hawkins made Cristóbal de Llerena his attorney. ³ I.e. the governor is forced to agree.

Therefore, since between Spain and England there is no enmity nor war, and this fleet belongs to the queen, my mistress, of which and of all else herein stated I am ready to furnish depositions, let your honour not anger me nor move me to aught that I should not do, as will be inevitable if your honour refuse me the license I ask. I protest that if from its refusal harm and damage follow, the fault and responsibility will be your honour's.

I ask for witnesses to this petition and a certificate.

John Hawkins...

Document No. 12¹

[Official relation of Hawkins' advance on Borburata, April 19, 1565.]

(p. 224) . . . in the city of Borburata on the nineteenth day of the said month of April, in the year aforesaid, the said governor stated that:

*...how after
the license
had been
granted the
Englishman
became angry
and tore it up
and fired a
cannon, and
landed his
men, and be-
gan to march
on the town;
and he sent to
say that he
would do as
the English-
man desired;
and being
mounted and
the enemy
very near and
advancing, he
gave him the
license to
trade on pay-
ment of 7 per
cent.²*

Whereas after the said license² had been issued and the English captain notified, as the writs above recorded set forth, (f. 113) the whole town felt somewhat safer than it had theretofore, because of the satisfaction the English captain evinced in possessing the license, giving us to understand that in exchange for it he promised us all peace, since his desire had been met in that the door was opened for business;

Because it was understood that some persons would go down to the said fleet to buy, in order, therefore, that the dues accruing to his majesty might be more readily collected, to-day, in the morning, the accountant, Diego Ruiz de Vallejo, and Antonio de Barrios, treasurer's lieutenant, went down to the beach of the port where the English fleet lay, that they might make better appraisals and collect these dues;

And when they had arrived there the captain came off in a small boat, and, when he had come near to land, spoke with the said officials who say that during this conversation the captain became angry and tore up the license to sell, which had been given to him, and withdrew, and ordered a heavy piece of ordnance fired, with which he announced war, and the said officials returned at once to his honour to report this commencement of hostilities.

¹ *A. de I. 47-3-52/9, ff. 112 et seq.*

² On April 18, before valid witnesses and in the presence of a notary, referring to the accumulation of legal instruments which he had assembled, Governor Bernaldez deposed (*A. de I. 47-3-52/9, f. 111*) that forced by well-grounded fears entertained by the inhabitants of Borburata he was compelled to grant Hawkins permit to trade, "said license to be valid only in so far as his authority to extend it existed." The license then issued (*ibid. p. 112*) authorized Hawkins to dispose of his goods "on payment to his majesty of all charges accruing," to a total amount sufficient to enable him to satisfy his men and refurbish his ships, and no more, this being the tenor of Hawkins' petition.

³ *Sic.* Clerical error for 7½ per cent.

The governor sent to entreat the captain to recover himself and not to be angered nor land men, for his honour was continuing his efforts to meet his desires in so far as they were proper, and at this juncture, Agustin de Ancona, English interpreter, having departed with this message, the lookout stationed on Santa Lucía hill (named Juan García, resident in this city) signalled that the English captain was landing a large force, in consequence of which the whole town mounted horse and awaited the (p. 226) said captain's reply.

At full speed Agustin de Ancona returned shortly to report that the captain said he was being played with and the object was to get possession of his goods for nothing, for the said officials had demanded of him 30 ducats for slave license, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ customs duties, on each negro sold, whereas he owed only the $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and would pay no more; that license to sell on those terms might be sent to him down the road, for he was unable to detain his men or to halt their march.

Seeing this, the governor ordered Agustin de Ancona to return to inform the captain that everything should be done as he desired, and that his honour would advise him of it presently; and when this messenger had gone the governor sought out the accountant, Diego Ruiz de Vallejo, that he might issue advisable orders, and while the governor and said accountant, Diego Ruiz de Vallejo, were treating of the matter, being on horseback, outside the town, toward the sea, whence the body of English troops was advancing, Agustin de Ancona returned and reported that the English captain had answered him that he wanted fewer messengers and for not a man to return thither except with the license on his terms, for he would kill any other;

Whereupon the governor (f. 114) and accountant and treasurer's lieutenant agreed to grant the license on the Englishman's terms and Agustin de Ancona returned to tell him that they were sending the license, for the main body of English troops was very near, the flag in sight, and the weapons, and the drum beating, and the men also were seen marching all in good order, who seemed in number to be as many as three hundred soldiers.

Most of the town being with the governor and officials, all mounted upon their horses, the license was drawn up and signed, and it was sent to the English captain by Juan Pacheco and Pedro Martinez, on whose arrival the English fired a musketry salvo interpreted to be a signal of peace and safety, for the messengers had arrived and the English captain and troops had seen the license. This reassured the town and the residents withdrew to their houses.

Whereupon the lookout again signalled that the English force was once more marching on the town. Nearly all the residents having remounted and gone out to see what was happening, they said it was a squadron of English who had been lying in ambuscade toward the right of the town and had now come out to join the main body, which was returning to the ships. This again somewhat quieted the town.

The governor being in his residence, an Englishman named John Esparça¹ (*sic*) arrived who said that he came on behalf of the English captain, and he told the governor that the captain said that although he was satisfied with the license which had been sent to him, his people were not entirely reassured nor could he control them unless (p. 228) two persons were sent him as hostages in guarantee that the permit would be honoured, and because at this juncture the lookout again signalled that the English troops were marching on the town, the governor sent two residents in this province, who offered themselves to serve his majesty and this community. They were Sebastian Davila, burgher of Coro, and Vicente Roberos, burgher of Trujillo. With their arrival the English forces were tranquillized and returned into their ships...².

¹ Probably John Sparke, who wrote the account in *Hakluyt* of the second voyage.

² Depositions follow to prove the truth of this relation.

Document No. 13¹

[Licentiate Santiago de Riego, proposed questionnaire,
Santo Domingo, 1567 (?).]

(p. 1)

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Witnesses who are or may be presented on behalf of Licentiate Santiago, his majesty's counsel in the royal *Audiencia* by his royal command resident in the city of Santo Domingo in the island Española, in the case versus Treasurer Miguel de Castellanos *et al.*, co-defendants, resident in the city of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios del Rio de la Hacha, to be examined according to the following questionnaire:

First, if they know the Licentiate Santiago, his majesty's counsel, and Treasurer Miguel de Castellanos and others, burghers and residents in Rio de la Hacha, and if they are informed concerning four ships and shallops which called at the port of the city of Rio de la Hacha in the month of May or at the end of April of the past year of 1565, of which fleet one John Hawkins, Englishman, was commander; and if they are informed concerning the slaves and merchandise he carried and of the business done in same by Miguel de Castellanos *et al.*, burghers of the said city.

Idem, if they are informed that being advised concerning the said ships, slaves and merchandise, to avoid damage and that the residents along the mainland coast should not trade with the said Englishman and ships, the president and judges of this royal *Audiencia* of the city of Santo Domingo and officials of his majesty's treasury fitted out and despatched a caravel solely to carry warnings, of which Alonso Perez Roldan was master, to whom they paid 600 pesos in silver to deliver despatches at Cabo de la Vela, Rio de la Hacha, Santa Marta and Cartagena and Nombre de Dios, which money was paid out of the royal treasury.

If they are informed that by order of the president and

¹ *A. de I. 47-1-11/38.* The document is entitled "His majesty's counsel vs. burghers of Rio de la Hacha." The particular portion of it here translated would seem, from Question 18, to have been drawn up in May, 1567.

judges said Alonso Perez Roldan did deliver the warning contained in the royal *Audiencia*'s letters and despatches to the *alcaldes* and to his majesty's royal officials in Rio de la Hacha twenty days before the said ships arrived in the port of Rio de la Hacha.

If they are informed that as soon as the *alcaldes* and royal officials and burghers of the city received this warning, they removed all their gold, silver, clothing and other valuables into the country, three or four leagues inland, where they were safe, at the same time withdrawing the women and people (p. 2) and all their property from the town, leaving behind nothing but the houses, all of which was done before the said ships reached the port.

5. If they are informed that the burghers having so removed inland from the town, as aforesaid, the said ships and Englishmen came into the port with the said slaves and merchandise of various varieties.

6. If they are informed that being in the interior, as aforesaid, on learning that the ships had arrived in the port and brought a quantity of slaves and merchandise, the burghers came down to the port and there had dealings with the Englishman, exchanged messages and talked and communicated with him.

7. If they are informed that the said Englishman or Englishmen announced and published that they were friends of peace and wished to do no harm, and were his majesty's servitors, and desired only to barter and sell as they had been doing in other ports in these parts, and exhibited bars and little bricks of gold they had acquired in payment of goods and showed certificates and testimonials that they had not stolen these but obtained them by way of trade and commerce, and requested that they be permitted to barter and do business with the burghers.

8. If they are informed that the burghers agreed among themselves that Treasurer Castellanos and another person should speak privately with the English captain and tell him that because they were greatly grieved and forbidden to do business with them and would be punished if voluntarily

they did it, they suggested that he threaten and feign to intend to burn the houses of the town or settlement, in order that they might take various depositions of witnesses and prove that they were forced to trade with him.

9. If they are informed that Treasurer Castellanos and other persons talked with the English captain privately and came to this arrangement with him.

10. If they are informed that these things accomplished as set forth in the preceding questions, the treasurer and all the other burghers bartered and bought a great quantity of slaves to the number of about three hundred, and much merchandise, wines and flour and biscuit, cloth and ready-made clothing and linens, and many other lines, and that they set up a public store in the town where people went to trade and purchase; let them name by name the persons who so trafficked and the quantity of slaves and merchandise they purchased, and up to what amount.

11. If they are informed that the burghers did business with the English peaceably and quietly and pacifically and that they visited their ships freely and safely. (p. 3)

13. If they are informed that the English captain gave Treasurer Castellanos two negro trumpeters and that witnesses have seen these in the treasurer's house.

14. If they are informed that the burghers entered into an understanding with the said captain as to what merchandise he should bring his next voyage and gave him a list of same, for the English captain said that he would return.

15. If they are informed that when the said English captain or Englishmen left the port they carried with them certificates and testimonials that they had done business peaceably and without having committed any violence or damage.

16. If they are informed that Treasurer Castellanos gave the English captain an anchor to enable him to anchor his ship and also other equipment; let witnesses state what they know he furnished him.

17. If they are informed that the English captain and ships carried away a very large quantity of gold and silver and

worked precious metals, obtained by barter, all to a great total, as the English captain himself said, when he exhibited same, obtained in barter.

18. If they are informed that the English captain has made three¹ voyages to these parts, coming the first time with few people and small cargo and a miserable vessel, and because of the large profits in gold and silver which he obtains he invariably returns improved and very much strengthened, with more ships and men and artillery and cargo, and lately arrived at La Margarita at Easter with twelve vessels².

19. If they are informed that the houses of the said town are straw huts of very little value.

20. If they are informed that as soon as the English captain left, the treasurer and his associates took depositions before the municipal authorities in the said city and summoned a great number of witnesses in their defence, with the purpose of incapacitating these from relating presently what had really occurred in this matter.

21. If they are informed that those who planned and executed³ this affair were the said treasurer and Hernando Costilla and Balthazar de Castellanos, Francisco Lermá, Rodrigo Caro, Domingo Felix, Marcos de la Peña, who deposed that the other burghers had traded and gave and distributed certain slaves among them that they might not relate the manner in which the business was done.

22. If they are informed that the treasurer and his associates have bought negroes and other merchandise of other French and Portuguese ships; let witnesses state what they know, especially concerning a Portuguese ship which was at the place called Punta de Sal, which is (p. 4) six leagues from the port of Rio de la Hacha; let them tell what he bought and what persons were implicated and what they have heard said.

¹ This reckoning evidently counts Lovell's voyage as Hawkins'.

² Communications written from Santo Domingo in May, 1567, make it fairly plain that this is a reference to Lovell's expedition, and the French in whose company he was at the time. See *A. de I. 53-6-5*, II, ff. 412, 416, 418 r., the *Audiencia*, Grajeda and Santiago de Riego to the crown, Santo Domingo, May 14, 1567.

³ Compare Documents 14 and 15, *post*.

23. *Idem*, if they are informed that at the time the persons aforesaid engaged in this business and upon other later occasions, particularly the treasurer and his brother and brother-in-law have said that money they will make and they will do business, and that there was nothing to fear, for in the royal *Audiencia* they counted on Licentiate Grajeda, who was entirely theirs, for they entertained and placed him under obligation when he was there, and the treasurer had placed 7000 ducats to his order in Castile, and would send presents of pearls and other things to the president and other judges and to his majesty's counsel at the time in office.

24. If they are informed that to the end set forth in the preceding question, the aforesaid persons who traded contributed five *pesos* per slave bought; let witnesses relate what they know and state what they contributed, who levied this contribution and to whom it was paid.

25. If they are informed that Diego Guerrero came to Santo Domingo city on the aforesaid business and brought gifts of pearls and other things for President Alonso Arias de Herrera and Licentiate Grajeda and Licentiate Echegoyan and Doctor Cáceres de Ovando, judges, and Licentiate Céspedes de Cárdenas, king's counsel in the said *Audiencia*; let them tell what they know.

26. *Idem*, if they are informed that all the foregoing is publicly asserted and generally believed.

The Licentiate Santiago (Rubric).

Document No. 14¹

[Hawkins' license to trade at Rio de la Hacha,
dated May 21, 1565.]

In the city of Rio de la Hacha on the twenty-first day of the month of May in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-five, their honours Rodrigo Caro, *alcalde ordinario* of this city, and Hernando Costilla and the treasurer, Miguel de Castellanos, and the factor, Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete, and Balthazar de Castellanos and Domingo Felix, municipal councilmen, set forth that:

Because of reasons which move them, which they intend to express² in proper time and place, to Captain John Hawkins, commanding the English fleet at present in this city's harbour, they granted license in so far as they were authorized to do so, freely and without impediment to trade and sell and do business in this city with all its burghers and inhabitants, transient and permanent, in whatever slaves, cloths, linens, wines, arms and other merchandise the said captain may bring in his said vessels;

And similarly they granted the same license to do business with the said captain and his men to all the burghers and inhabitants, transient and permanent in this city, that they may trade freely.

They ordered this license to be publicly cried in this city that it may come to the attention of all and that the said residents may be informed that on whatever goods they may acquire they must pay his majesty's customs duties at the rate of seven and one-half per centum.

¹ *A. de I. 2-5-1/20, 9-3, 1/2 pliego*, copy. Item 9 in this *legajo* is a copy of a portion of Guzman de Silva's despatch to the crown, London, February 11, 1566 (*Cal. S.P., etc., Simancas*, I, No. 337, p. 525); the document, No. 3, here translated, is obviously a copy of the copy the ambassador sent to Spain of the original permit which Hawkins showed him.

² I.e. in any subsequent inquiry into their conduct they will allege that Hawkins' superior force compelled them to issue this license in order to avert the damage he would have done them if thwarted.

They signed their names:

Rodrigo Caro.

Hernando Costilla.

Miguel Castellanos.

Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete.

Balthazar de Castellanos.

Hernando de Heredia,

Notary public

Document No. 15¹

[Hawkins' certificate of good conduct at Rio de la Hacha,
May 19-30, 1565.]

I, Hernando de Heredia, notary public and clerk of the council in this city of Rio de la Hacha on the mainland coast in the Indies in the Ocean Sea, do hereby certify to all whom it may concern that from Saturday, in the morning, which was the nineteenth day of the present month of May, when the very magnificent John Hawkins, captain general of the English fleet, entered with said fleet into the harbour of this city, up to to-day, Wednesday, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, when he got under weigh with said fleet, the said captain and the men of his fleet have traded and transacted business with all the people of this town in the slaves and merchandise which their vessels brought, maintaining the peace and without disturbing it, and working no harm to any person whatsoever of any quality or condition.

In testimony whereof, at the request of the said John Hawkins, captain general of the said fleet, I issue this present certificate in Rio de la Hacha, Wednesday, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, on the thirtieth day of the present month of May in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-five.

Witnesses present: Gaspar Diaz and Gregorio de Uesera, and Alonso Ruiz, residents in this city.

And in conclusion I affixed here my usual sign in evidence of the truth.

Hernando de Heredia,

Notary public and clerk of the council.

¹ *A. de I. 2-5-1/20, 9-4, 1/2 pliego*, copy. This also is enclosed in the document described in note No. 1, p. 92.

Document No. 16¹

[The city of Rio de la Hacha to the crown, June 23, 1567.]

(p. 1)

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Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty

Since we understand that because of your majesty's benevolence and clemency, happy events which befall your majesty's servants and vassals will afford your majesty pleasure, we have determined to render your majesty a brief and succinct account of the victories which this current year of [15]67 we in this little city have won over two very large corsair armadas, one French and the other English. If compared with the glorious achievements of your majesty's captains in Italy, Flanders, Barbary and other parts of the world, these victories of ours seem a little or a worthless thing, we entreat your majesty to consider that in its own way black jet is as fine as precious carbuncle, and if, yonder, others achieve great victories, also they possess a corresponding equipment of very good arms, very experienced soldiery and very excellent officers, and, what is more important still, they have nearer at hand the good fortune of Caesar, while this city, although rich and a source of much profit to the royal treasury because of the pearl fisheries carried on here, is nevertheless so small that its residents and transients together are not usually more than sixty men, inexperienced and lacking many arms, and, what is worse, far outside your majesty's thoughts. Therefore if these have undertaken and accomplished a worthy deed, their success must be attributed solely (p. 2) to God, the Victor in battles, and to the skill of our captain general, and to the desire which he and this city have always had, and have, to serve your majesty.

Coming now to the narration of the event, the fact is that this present year by diverse routes news was received in this city to effect that a great multitude of French and English

¹ *A. de I. 54-4-24, 1 pliego, original.*

corsairs had crossed to these parts of Indies. The treasurer, Miguel de Castellanos, captain general of this city, a person who because of his worth certainly merits that your majesty employ him in larger affairs, judging from the experience of former years that said corsairs or some of them would not fail to visit this city, began to prepare for defence as best he could.

He ordered all persons in the city to prepare their weapons, under severe penalties ordering that none fit to bear arms leave the place. He sent a great part of the citizens' goods outside the city, and in those parts most liable to attack he fortified it with bastions and bulwarks as best he was able. In the most advantageous positions along the coast he set lookouts to give warning if they sighted any ships; and here he rested, awaiting further developments.

Some days later, on the most Holy Ascension of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, May 8, half an hour after daybreak, four large ships were sighted three leagues from this city. Seeing these, and considering them to be of evil augury, for up to that moment we had had no news at all of them in this city, our general first ordered all the women, children and chattels to be placed in safety, and next commanded all the men who were at the time in the city to assemble. Most of them were expert arquebusiers, and with all of them, marching in good order, he went down to the beach to prevent the enemy from landing, should he attempt to do so.

The enemy presently anchored his ships in this harbour and from them sent a man ashore in a small boat under a flag of truce. When he came to talking with our general this man told him that the ships were French and their general was called Jean Bontemps, that they carried black slaves and other merchandise for barter along this coast, and that the French general requested him to give him license to trade in this city. He said he would sell his merchandise at such moderate prices that much money would be made. Hearing which, Miguel de Castellanos answered that he would consult the municipal authorities in the matter and reply next day, and with this dismissed the said emissary for the time being.

Immediately he finished placing the women and chattels in safety and cleared a caravel for the cities of Santa Marta and Cartagena with news of these French ships and of another armada of four English ships which was behind them.

Next day, hardly was it light when the Frenchman who had acted as messenger the day before, appeared for the reply. The captain general let him have it very briefly, and it was to tell his general that the king, our master, under very severe penalties had forbidden his subjects and vassals to trade with corsairs, and that he and all the citizens of this city were agreed to risk their lives and possessions in obedience to the royal command, and so would do no business with him; and for him therefore to go whither he might see fit, and leave the harbour free and unencumbered. Our general added that this was his first and his last decision and response, and with this he dismissed the emissary, who returned to his ships to give this answer to his general.

A little thereafter the said ships (p. 3) began to clear for action and drew near to land, the better to play their artillery. They broke out a great number of pennants and flags, and presently put off three boats laden with artillery and men well armed, who made determinedly for the shore, the ships and boats playing their ordnance on our defence.

Then, having drawn up his men and assigned to each the post he was to occupy, our general in person led them down to the beach to oppose the landing of the French. When they saw the town's forces in excellent order, though few in number, and observed with what spirit they awaited attack, firing upon the approaching boats, the enemy forthwith lost impetus and without daring to come on, beat back and forth, seeking advantageous landing places. Inasmuch as our general had taken every precaution well in advance of the occasion, their efforts availed them nothing and they returned to their ships, much affronted, after four hours through which this skirmish continued.

Thinking to accomplish by fair means what they had not been able to compass by foul, a while later the French general came ashore to make of our general the same request his

emissary had made, and our general gave him the answer he had given to his man, and so dismissed him, and the Frenchman made sail that same afternoon. Later it was learned that the following day he took the city of Santa Marta on this coast and a richly laden ship of the fleet.

We might have anticipated a period of quiet, the French having departed, had not they themselves told us of another armada—English—which was up this coast and would soon reach this city. Instead of resting, we returned to labour, keeping watch every night, until, on the eve of Pentecost, we saw the said English armada appear off this city. The second day of Pentecost it entered and anchored in this city's harbour.

That same day, in pacific attitude, there came to speak with our general one John Lovell¹, general of the said English, who made the identical proposal the French general had made. Our general returned him the same reply he had given the Frenchman, and so dismissed the Englishman, who went back to his ships, where he remained six days without daring to attempt anything further. During this period he sometimes came, and sometimes sent, to land to persuade our general to trade, and also to discover the strength of the city, whether he could storm it, and when he saw that he could not damage it, because of the great precautions our general had taken on every hand, driven thereto by the hunger and thirst he was suffering, Lovell landed ninety or ninety-two slaves on the other side of the river from this city. No one could prevent his doing this; and that same night he sailed away in very great desperation and grief.

All envy aside, this preparation against corsairs, the country's successful defence against their attempt to land, and their shameful retreat, must be attributed to the spirit and foresight of our captain general, who furnished arms to the majority of the soldiers, fortified the place with bastions, led the people, arrayed them in military formation, and provided against every contingency. In effect, he was to his city another Horatius, and if to the man who saved a city

¹ *Joan Lover* in the Spanish original.

the ancient Romans gave the civic palm, then, because he has so many times defended his city (not to mention many other services he has rendered, (p. 4) as will appear in his *información*)¹, it is just and reasonable that to our general your majesty should grant, not civic palms, since this is no longer customary, but bestow upon him those honours with which your majesty with lavish hand rewards those who serve loyally.

For our part, because of the expense and hardship to which we have been put in defence of this city, we ask only that your majesty concede two things. First, to deign to grant us the proceeds from the negroes which the English set ashore, since it would appear that we have earned this by our courage, these to be partitioned among the inhabitants of this city in partial recompense of their labours. Second, that your majesty be pleased to issue this city royal provision that when your majesty's judges of the royal *Audiencia* at Santo Domingo may send a judge hither on commission it be with a salary of two ducats a day, his officials to have no salaries beyond their fees, the salary of said judge not to be payable at the expense of the culprits, because from such an arrangement it follows that in order not to lose his pay, the judge finds no man innocent.

We are moved to ask this of your majesty in consideration of the fact that at the very moment when we were fighting off this corsair, casting our lives upon the table every moment, and enduring a thousand calamities, your majesty's court commissioned² against us as judge one of their number with a salary of 30 *pesos* per diem, and a sheriff and clerk with a salary of 4 *pesos* each, this commission being good for such a length of time that, before God, were it honoured this town would be laid waste forever! Therefore we entreat your majesty to take note of this grievous wrong and with your majesty's customary benevolence to remedy it, and not

¹ Not seen. See Note No. 1, p. 104, *post*.

² See p. 18, *ante*. This is a further reference to the investigation into Rio de la Hacha's dealings with Hawkins in 1565 which the court held had closed the case when Licentiate Santiago de Riego sought (Document No. 13, *ante*) to make another.

permit your majesty's judges to accomplish what neither French nor English succeeded in doing.

Our Lord preserve your majesty's royal person for many years with great increase of larger kingdoms and dominions, as we, your majesty's servants and vassals, desire.

Rio de la Hacha, June 23, 1567.

Your majesty's vassals who kiss your majesty's royal hands,

Balthazar de Castellanos.

Domingo Feli[z].

Hernando Costilla.

Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete.

Hernando de Heredia,

Clerk of the council.

(Rubrics.)

Document No. 17¹

[The city of Rio de la Hacha to the crown, July 9, 1567.]

(p. 1)

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Catholic Royal Majesty

Inasmuch as we most certainly believe that your majesty will be pleased by any happy event which may occur to your majesty's servitors and vassals, we have determined to write your majesty of what befell us in this city this present year of [15]67 with respect to two imposing armadas, one English and the other French, which on separate occasions came here.

Although to those accustomed to see great things and to accomplish large and heroic deeds, as is your majesty, *prima facie* this incident may seem of little or no importance, nevertheless if consideration be given to the limited renown this city enjoys and to the scantiness of its population, which ordinarily is not over sixty men, and to its poor equipment in arms and munitions of war with which to defend and to offend, and, at the same time, to the number of the enemy, thoroughly armed and exercised in war, and to the great quantity of artillery which the English and French brought hither, your majesty will not fail to assign to the occurrence its proportionate importance among greater events.

*Let a gracious
reply be made
them.*

The fact is, your majesty, that on May 8 of the present year, as day was breaking, four large ships appeared off this city's port. It was presently learned that these were French. Duly advised, this city's captain general immediately with great activity had removed from the town all persons unfit for fighting and the citizens' chattels, and he sent warning concerning said armada, and also concerning another, English, which was expected, to Santa Marta and to Cartagena by a caravel which he cleared.

That same day the armada which had been sighted arrived

¹ *A. de I. 54-4-24, 2½ pliegos*, original. Dated a few days after the preceding document, this despatch arrived first in Spain, where it received due attention in the council for Indies, as the marginal decrees indicate.

in this city's harbour, and sent a man ashore to speak with the said Miguel de (p. 2) Castellanos, our captain general, which emissary told him that this was a French armada out of Guinea and carried many slaves and other merchandise to barter along this coast, asking the said captain general to issue license authorizing such traffic. The general deferred the reply until the following day, that he might have time to prepare the city.

The next day the messenger returned for the answer and having meanwhile thoroughly made every advisable preparation to defend and protect the town, our captain general told the emissary, by way of reply, that his royal majesty forbade that any of his vassals trade with any corsair, wherefore neither he nor any citizen of the town would trade; for him to go and leave them in peace. With this he dismissed the said emissary, who went to deliver this reply to his commanding general.

A little while after this the said French general equipped three boats with a good supply of artillery and men well armed, and with them advanced in very determined fashion to take the town. From these boats and his ships he played many guns on the fighting force of the town. In view of this, assembling as many men as he could bring together from the town, our captain general went down to the beach to offer resistance and to prevent their landing, as in effect he prevented it, by his great courage and constancy, in such fashion that after four hours of effort to land and after they had exhausted every plan and possibility, seeing that nothing came out as they desired, because in every quarter our general's solicitude had forestalled them, the French withdrew to their ships, hard pressed and indignant.

Shortly after this, Jean Bontemps himself, commanding the French, with our general's permission came ashore to speak with him, and he made the same proposal to trade that his messenger had made previously. Our general gave him the same reply that he had given his emissary. Therefore, seeing that neither by fair means nor foul was he able to accomplish anything, very sad and melancholy the said

Frenchman returned to his ships, and cleared that same day as night settled down.

Later it was learned that he went to the city of Santa Marta on this same coast and that en route he took a ship belonging to one Master Christopher, which was sailing in convoy of the fleet for Spain. Its owner recovered the vessel on payment of a certain sum of money. The enemy took Santa Marta and there disposed of a certain number of the slaves he carried.

The Frenchman gone, we might have promised ourselves some quietude and rest from continuous sentry duty and similar tasks which up to that time we had endured, had we not previously received word of the English fleet which we expected daily. The French having gone, our general not only did not relax his military precautions in the city but on the contrary he maintained watch and guard with greater diligence, keeping all on the alert. This being the situation, on the eve of Pentecost there appeared off this city four English ships, which were those we expected.

They were large and well-equipped with men and artillery. They came into the harbour on the second day of Pentecost, having been unable to do so theretofore because of contrary weather. That same day the English general, whose name was John Lovell, came ashore to speak with our general.

He said he had a quantity of slaves and merchandise which he was bartering along this coast and asked (p. 3) permission to do business in this city. Seeing his purpose, our general gave him the same reply he had given the Frenchman and so dismissed him. Very dissatisfied, the Englishman returned aboard his ships where he remained from Monday, the second day of Pentecost, when they anchored in this harbour, until the following Friday, during which period he repeatedly endeavoured through a third party to persuade the general to trade, and also he sought to learn and discover the town's strength, in order to determine whether he could enter or not.

Seeing that he could accomplish nothing, because the said treasurer-general had provided against every contingency, on the said Friday he came to speak with our general and told him that he desired to set certain negroes ashore, provided

our general would furnish him a written document signed with his name to effect that he was leaving them. Our general advised him not to do this, for he would certainly do his best to prevent it.

The Saturday following, an hour after nightfall, the English set ashore ninety-two pieces of blacks, all old, and very sick and thin. Nobody could prevent their doing this, because they landed them on the other side of the river, in a place to which none could cross from the city because the river was very high at the time. The English then returned to their ships and cleared that same night.

And the glory and the palm for having defended the land and compelled so many such valorous enemies to retire (aside from Divine Favour, without which human frailty can accomplish nothing) should be attributed to our general, because he furnished us arms, and assembled us in a squadron, gave us courage to attack and even to come off victorious in an undertaking which seemed impossible to the town's small strength. He himself was in the vanguard of every danger and the last to enter into enjoyment of the fruits of victory. And not only on this occasion but also upon many others, through a long time past, in peace and in war, he has been the protection and security of this city, as all appears at greater length in an *información*¹ presented on his behalf before your majesty's council (for Indies). Certain it is that his deeds merit favour and he is worthy any your majesty may deign to extend to him; wherefore we entreat your majesty to remember his services, for rewarded virtue augments and increases.

As for the humble residents of this city and the spiritual and material hardship they endured in defence of the town, suffering hunger, cold, heat and exposure, each in turn taking his chance in notorious danger of death—right careful are your majesty's judges of the royal *Audiencia* at Santo Domingo to reward them²! For while we here with our arquebuses were fighting French and English in defence of

¹ Not seen. A fruitless search was made for this document.

² See Note No. 2, p. 99, *ante*.

our land, our wives and children, instead of sending us reinforcement, that court commissioned a judge against us to come and render desolate this town, for he was assigned a salary of 20 *pesos* a day, for himself alone, exclusive of his officials. This is a thing unheard of heretofore! His commission for ten months, so that, before God, were all the property of the citizens to be sold, it would not bring in enough to pay his bill! Wherefore we entreat your majesty to remedy so grievous an abuse, acting with your majesty's benignity and clemency, and to send us your majesty's royal provision to effect that if a judge be sent us, his salary shall not exceed two [ducats?] a day, and that he be not sent at the expense of those he may find guilty, because, in order to assure his salary (p. 4) he will find no man innocent.

We also petition your majesty to deign to give to this city's residents the proceeds from the said slaves which the Englishman left here, inasmuch as it appears that by their conduct they earned it on this occasion and also two years ago when this city was visited by another English armada of four large ships with a great supply of artillery and more than five hundred soldiers.

At that time the city was not fortified and there were few people here and these few unarmed. The citizens had not the arquebuses they have now and, therefore, the English being so strong and we so unequal to resisting them, we were obliged to let them land that they might not burn the city and to give them a large stock of subsistence there was on hand. We were forced to trade for certain pieces of slaves and your majesty's judges of the royal *Audiencia* at Santo Domingo commissioned a judge to investigate and report the case, and although they saw from the evidence that we were innocent, they have not seen fit to pronounce sentence. Along with this despatch we send your majesty's royal council a copy of the *información* and entreat your majesty to have it seen, and when it is discovered how little we were at fault, to order us to be cleared of the charges.

In acting upon our petitions and in favouring us, your majesty will render great service to God, Our Lord. May He

*Proper action
has been
taken.*

Nota bene.

*Let the
evidence be
brought before
the council.*

preserve the very high and very mighty person of your majesty with increase of life and estates in His Holy Service, as we, your majesty's servants and vassals, desire.

Rio de la Hacha, July 9, 1567.

Your Catholic royal majesty's humble servants who kiss your majesty's royal hands,

Balthazar de Castellanos.

Domingo Feliz.

Hernando Costilla.

Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete.

Hernando de Heredia,

Clerk of the council.

(Rubrics.)

Document No. 18¹

[Miguel de Castellanos to the crown, Rio de la Hacha,
January 1, 1568.]

(p. 1)

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Catholic Royal Majesty

During the time that I have resided in this city as your majesty's treasurer, which is more than fourteen years, it has been continuously beset by French, English and other corsairs who regularly besiege it; and since this land is without arms and unprovided with necessary materials of war, they frequently endanger its safety.

Especially was this true in the month of May in the year [15]67 when Jean Bontemps, commanding ten French ships, came to take this city and sent ashore to demand license to trade, threatening that unless it was extended to him he would burn the place and leave everything desolate. I dissimulated with him for a day, during which I gathered the women and children and invalids into my house, where I furnished them necessary subsistence at my own expense, while I assembled the rest of the people. We went down to meet the corsair, who had disembarked with two hundred men and much artillery, and with what little ordnance this place could bring up, we played on them and beat them, so that they ran at full speed and withdrew to their ships, and made sail and fled, and fell upon Santa Marta, which place it is said they took, along with a very good ship of the fleet.

A few days later another large fleet of English galleons and ships appeared, in command of John Lovell, and he made extensive preparations to trade in this town. Seeing that this was not permitted to him, they played many guns upon us, against which we defended ourselves so that we beat them into flight.

After this fashion this city has had many encounters with these corsairs and others, who are so hard put to it that they

¹ *A. de I. 53-6-12, 1 pliego*, original.

advertise that they mean to assemble large armadas to capture me and destroy this place. In all this I have exercised the vigilance due to your majesty's royal service, and at my own expense I defend and will continue to defend the city, with all my strength. I thought advisable to inform your majesty of this, that your majesty might know the situation and the intention I entertain in this matter, as in all others, to live and die in the royal service, and for its good to expend what I possess, and also that if it appear that in so important a matter further defence be necessary than that which exists, which assuredly is little, orders may be issued to furnish what your majesty may provide.

Our Lord preserve your majesty's life with increase of many more kingdoms, as we, your majesty's servants, desire.

Rio de la Hacha, January 1, 1568.

Catholic Royal Majesty, your majesty's least servant kisses your majesty's royal feet.

Miguel de Castellanos. (Rubric.)

Document No. 19¹

[Hernando Costilla and Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete² to the crown,
Rio de la Hacha, January 8, 1568.]

(p. 1)

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Catholic Royal Majesty

(p. 2) . . . On May 18 four . . . English ships anchored in this port. They were very well supplied with ordnance. They . . . came from Guinea and carried a large cargo of negroes and merchandise for barter. John Lovell, native-born Englishman, was in command.

They immediately sent a man ashore to speak with your majesty's general and to ask him for license to sell their goods. Your majesty's general answered that no business would be done, your majesty having so ordered. On receipt of this reply the English general again sent the interpreter to demand license to dispose of what they had brought; otherwise, he would force trade and, further, do all the evil and damage he could.

Your majesty's general bade this man tell his general to come ashore, for he greatly wished to have it out with him. In view of this reply the English general brought his ships as close in to the town as he could and with four small boats came toward land, thinking to terrorize the town. Then, without having done anything else, he returned to his ships. He repeated this performance through some days and nights following, hoping to take the town through some carelessness of your majesty's general; but on finding that vigilance was not relaxed he decided to leave.

The night before he left, it being dark, he set ashore ninety-six of the oldest, thinnest slaves he had, because they were dying on his hands. Because he set them ashore at a point somewhat distant from the town, on the other side of a large river, we were not aware of it until he had landed them and

¹ *A. de I. 54-4-28, 1 pliego*, original. Omitted portions refer to Jean Bontemps; everything relating to Lovell is here presented.

² Royal officials, i.e. accountant and factor, at Rio de la Hacha.

was returning to his ships. He made sail and went up coast until he crossed to La Española, where we know that he did very great damage.

We entreat your majesty to give⁹ the slaves left by the English to the burghers of this city... (p. 3)....

Rio de la Hacha, January 8, 1568.

Your Catholic royal majesty's humble servants who kiss your majesty's royal feet.

Hernando Costilla.

Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete. (Rubrics.)

Document No. 20¹

[The city of Rio de la Hacha to the crown, January 8, 1568.]

(p. 1)

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Catholic Royal Majesty

(p. 2) . . . On May 18 John Lovell, English corsair, anchored in this port with four ships and certain smaller vessels, well armed. He came out of Guinea with negroes, and was very confident that once he had made himself master of this town, which was small and scantily populated, the people would then buy his blacks.

He sent a man ashore to tell your majesty's general that he had come to trade with the burghers and to ask his approval. Your majesty's general replied that no one desired to do business with him, for your majesty so ordered. The English general again sent an emissary to ask that license be issued him to trade with the people; otherwise, by force he would compel them to do business, taking the town and everything in it and doing the burghers all the harm he could.

Your general answered him to come ashore, that he wanted to have it out with him. Thereupon, in great haste, for there had been much resistance to his demands, the Englishman brought his ships as close in as possible, and in his boats carrying many men came toward shore, playing many guns from ships and boats, and he did his best to land. With his small force, your majesty's general opposed him valorously, so that, try as he would, the Englishman could not land. Therefore, because with his much larger numbers and greater strength he could not best so few people, he returned to his ships much astonished at what your majesty's general had accomplished in preventing his landing and in killing and wounding many of his men.

During some days he repeatedly attempted to land, and seeing that he could not effect his object, he determined to

¹ *A. de I. 54-4-24, 1 pliego*, original. All of this letter which refers to Lovell is presented.

leave, and before he left, one very dark night, at a point somewhat distant from the town, he set ashore ninety-six slaves who were dying on his hands because they were old and thin and sick. Since it was dark and at a distance from the town, across a large river, he was not perceived until he was returning to his ships. So he departed and crossed to La Española, where it is said he did much destruction and damage.

We entreat your majesty to deign to give these negroes, which the English left, to the people of this city . . . (p. 3) . . .

Rio de la Hacha, January 8, 1568.

Your Catholic royal majesty's humble servants who kiss your majesty's royal feet.

Diego Herrero.

— (?) Rodriguez.

Hernando Costilla.

Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete.

Domingo Feliz.

Hernando de Heredia,

* Clerk of the council.

(Rubrics.)

Document No. 21¹

[Diego Ruiz de Vallejo to the crown,
New Segovia, April 21, 1568.]

(p. 1)

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Catholic Royal Majesty

I, Diego Ruiz de Vallejo, your majesty's accountant for this province of Venezuela, kiss your majesty's royal feet and hands and state that in other despatches which the treasurer, Gonzalo de los Rios, and I have written to your majesty, we have reported truly on events in this jurisdiction since the corsairs John Hawkins, English, and Jean Bontemps, French, began to visit it. Their first visit was in the year 1565 and Jean Bontemps has come every year since. Occurrences since we wrote last are as follows:

Governor don Pedro Ponce de Leon arrived in this province in May of 1566 and investigated the administration of Licentiate Alonso Bernaldez, whom he found acting as governor on commission from the royal *Audiencia* at Santo Domingo; and because the licentiate issued a permit to trade with the said Englishman he sentenced him to be fined to the value of the negroes and other merchandise which changed hands, and for this and other reasons sent him in person to your majesty, along with the records of the case², as will appear in same....

Ever since this Englishman did business here this province has been persecuted and frequented by corsairs. Last year (1567) five fleets called at the port of Borburata. Such assurance do they feel that they winter in these ports as in any other safe place. This is because the population is scanty and they know no harm can come to them from any other quarter... (p. 2)....

¹ *A. de I.* 53-6-12, 1 *pliego*, original. Paragraphs which have been omitted refer, mostly, to the activities of French corsairs, other than Bontemps. All which relates to Lovell and Hawkins is presented.

² These records are *A. de I.* 47-3-52/9.

Jean Bontemps arrived at Borburata with four large ships and four shallops and the next day an English corsair came in with as many ships. It was said that this captain was a relative of John Hawkins and that Hawkins despatched the fleet.

These two (Bontemps and the Englishman) came to a mutual understanding and treated for peace with the ~~people~~ and promised to give one hundred slaves to the royal treasury if they were permitted to sell two hundred more and their other merchandise. To this effect they sent from Borburata to the port of El Coro a request that the governor might grant them the license, but the said governor refused it and ordered that no trading be done.

Meanwhile, under guise of amity, in Borburata the said corsairs detained Lieutenant Justo Desque and *Alcalde* Benavides and other burghers, and along with them two merchants from the Nuevo Reino [de Granada] with 1500 *pesos*, and carried all these persons to their ships, advertising that if trade were not allowed they would take them off to France. Later, seeing that the governor had not permitted trade, they released them all; while to the merchants, in exchange for their 1500 *pesos* which they had taken, they gave twenty-six negroes. We demanded that these be confiscated for your majesty and suit was brought before the governor, who sentenced them to pay 30 ducats per negro into the royal treasury and to other pecuniary penalties....

These corsairs come fully supplied with all lines of merchandise, oils and wines and everything else which is lacking in the country. The colonists' needs are great and neither penalties nor punishments suffice to prevent them from buying secretly what they want. As a matter of fact, they make their purchases, but nothing can be learned of them, for they buy at night and cover each other, and no measures suffice to prevent it. Truly, we, your majesty's officials, feel conscientious scruples about putting them on oath, when investigating; all we accomplish, as we think, is to make them perjure themselves. This jurisdiction would not suffer as it does for lack of necessary articles if your majesty would

deign to order that when the fleet passes to Tierra Firme a ship should call here, to supply the colony. The colonists then could no longer justly complain nor would they dare, because of their necessities, to buy of the French as they do now. This could easily be done, for from here the vessel can go on to Cabo de la Vela and Santa Marta and Cartagena.

On the 14th of the present month of April the Englishman John Hawkins arrived in the port of Borburata with ten warships¹. They say two of these vessels are about 800 tons each; three others are large ships, and five shallop. Hawkins has written to the governor in this city of New Segovia, asking him to give the people of his jurisdiction license to trade with him freely. The governor has refused and under heavy penalties ordered that none go to trade or barter with them. Knowing that four residents of the city of Tocuyo were in the port of Borburata with a certain sum of money, awaiting the arrival of a vessel to invest it, fearing lest some corsair appear, the governor ordered them to return to their homes about twenty days ago, to avoid any opportunity for them to converse or trade with the corsairs....

...New Segovia, April 21, 1568.

Catholic Royal Majesty, your majesty's very humble servants² and vassals kiss your majesty's royal feet.

Diego Ruiz de Vallejo. (Rubric.)

¹ Cf. Document No. 25, *post*. On the Guinea coast Hawkins had increased his fleet by at least two sails—one the caravel seized as a pirate (i.e. because it carried no cargo for bartering) and the other, Bland's *Grace of God*, received on terms into Hawkins' company.

² The plural and the position of his signature on the original page suggest that Ruiz de Vallejo expected his colleague to sign with him.

Document No. 22¹

[Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete and Hernando Costilla² to the crown,
Rio de la Hacha, September 26 (20?), 1568.]

(p. 1)

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Catholic Royal Majesty

Because we wrote to your royal majesty by the last fleet a despatch which went forward with Balthazar de Castellanos, procurator general for this city, wherein we reported upon everything of which it seemed necessary to advise your majesty up to that day, in this letter we shall recount to your majesty only what has occurred since then, to wit:

On June 10 last John Hawkins, English corsair, arrived off this port with ten warships, all well armed and supplied with artillery and fireworks and many other weapons and equipment suitable to so powerful an armada as his. He carried more than six hundred men very well armed and outfitted with corselets and arquebuses and pikes and crossbows and halberds and all other weapons that could be carried, suitable to attack. In good order they landed next day, about noon, half a league from this city. Their pinnaces and ships played many guns, for which reason Miguel de Castellanos, your majesty's general in command, was unable to prevent them from landing.

He went out to encounter them with as many as sixty men, whom he had succeeded in assembling, and with this, the small force he had, he offered as fine and valorous a defence as has ever been made in these Indies, and killed more than thirty of the enemy³. He rendered such signal service that all were astonished at his great valour (both his adversaries and also the residents), for certainly it was a business that

¹ *A. de I.* 54-4-28, 1 *pliego*, original.

² Cf. Note No. 2, p. 109, *ante*.

³ "...with two hundred men (we) brake in upon their bulwarkes and entred the towne with the losse onely of two of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled"—John Hawkins, in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, x, p. 66.

to-day, on looking back at it, fills with fright those who were present and those who hear it related.

In good order he withdrew with this small force, without losing a man, whereas truly it seemed incredible that any should have escaped, and the English general took the town. Indignant to discover that your majesty's commander should have undertaken with so few soldiers to prevent him from taking it, and because certain gentlemen whom he much esteemed had been killed, he set fire to the town and burned nearly two-thirds of it and blew up the government house.

This done, he began next day to march inland in very good order, his field-pieces in advance. Observing this, your majesty's general summoned what force he could and took up a position ahead of him, to prevent his advance in so far as possible, burning what houses were in the country and driving off the stock, that the enemy might not obtain possession of it. In doing this your majesty's general performed many valorous deeds and killed some of the enemy's men, (p. 2) seeing which the English general determined to return to the town from the point at which he had arrived, which was more than a league from the city. He retired in the same good order in which he had advanced. His intention was to march again into the interior at night, since he could not accomplish his purpose by day.

He dared to venture this because he had possession of a mulatto and a negro, slaves of your majesty's general, who deserted to him and, that he might liberate them, offered to lead him to the place where your majesty's treasure-box was buried and where most of the people of this city were, with their goods.

With this in view they set out at midnight with these guides, and three hours before dawn arrived where your majesty's general had a tent with much property and where the said citizens were with their goods. The enemy captured a married man with his wife and children and other burghers and took all the goods and negroes which were there.

The enemy having captured this booty, the burghers of the city and persons whom the Englishman had captured

sent one of their number to your majesty's general that he might ransom them and their goods, for the Englishman had told them that unless they were ransomed he would kill them and carry off all that he had taken from them. He repeated this threat often and truly it inspired great pity to see them so afflicted and in such danger.

Seeing this, your majesty's general, moved by his great commiseration for the said burghers, resolved to ransom them from the Englishman, that he might not carry out his cruel threat, and so they and all their goods and the houses of the town which remained unburned, were ransomed for 4000 *pesos* in gold.

Among those ransomed were the said mulatto and the negro who had deserted to the enemy, for whom, had nothing else been redeemed, the said 4000 *pesos* would have been given, that they might be brought to justice. The English captain delivered them to your majesty's general, Miguel de Castellanos, and although they were his property your majesty's general handed them over to the law that they might be punished according to it and so the mulatto was hung and the negro quartered.

When he had received the ransom, rather than throw them overboard the next day, the Englishman landed in this city as many as seventy-five head of slaves who were dying on his hands. They were old men and infants at their mothers' breasts, and among them all there was not a slave worth anything at all. He said he left them in recompense for the damage he had done.

Seeing this, your majesty's general and the undersigned determined to take them over in your majesty's name, and so they were placed in charge of a certain person that he might feed them and put them into condition, and most of them were auctioned, as the rest will be also, and the proceeds will be placed in your majesty's royal treasury pending your majesty's pleasure to order what shall be done with the money.

We entreat your majesty to remedy the grievous conditions prevailing to-day in Indies. For every two ships that come

hither from Spain, twenty corsairs appear. For this reason not a town on all this coast is safe, for whenever they please to do so they take and plunder these settlements. They go so far as to boast that they are lords of the sea and of the land, and as a matter of fact daily we see them seize ships, both those of the Indies trade and also some that come here from Spain itself. They capture towns, and this so commonly that we see it happen every year. Unless your majesty deign to favour all this coast by remedying the situation, all these settlements must necessarily be abandoned, from which will result grave detriment to your majesty's royal patrimony and an end will be put to inter-Indies traffic; trade with the Canaries will suffer, as will also those ships which come out of Spain between fleets.

God, Our Lord, preserve the exalted and very powerful person of your majesty and grant your majesty prosperity through many years and increase your majesty's kingdoms and dominions as we, your majesty's loyal servitors, desire.

Rio de la Hacha, September 26, 1568.

Your royal Catholic majesty's humble servants who kiss your majesty's royal feet,

Lazaro de Vallejo Aldrete.

Hernando Costilla. (Rubrics.)

Document No. 23¹

[Miguel de Castellanos to the crown, Rio de la Hacha,
September 26, 1568.]

(p. 1)

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Catholic Royal Majesty

Because by the procurator general of this city, who is Balthazar de Castellanos, I have written your majesty of certain matters relative to your majesty's service, in this letter I will report only on what has happened in this town since that despatch went forward.

On June 10 of the current year John Hawkins, English corsair, arrived off the port of this city. He came in command of ten very handsome ships, which he said belonged to the queen of England, his mistress. As soon as he had arrived off this port he sent me a letter in which he offered me great gifts if I would permit him to trade; and if I would not, he made great threats. I answered him what your majesty has ordered and provided in your majesty's royal orders and provisions, and that I would by no means yield a single point from the tenor of those commands.

In view of my determination, after much argument, he landed his forces three-quarters of a league down the coast, beyond all my defences and bulwarks, and out of range of the artillery which in your majesty's service I have placed here. Seeing this, I went out with all the men there were in this town to see if I could manage to prevent him from landing; although inasmuch as the enemy's number was so overwhelming and we were so few, it seemed to me to be madness to attempt to oppose the attack of such superior force.

The Englishman having landed his party, with what few persons were available in the place I manned a fort which is built on the road by which he must advance, and there disputed his passage as fully as I was able. From that work I inflicted serious damage on him, but because of his superior

¹ *A. de I. 54-4-28, 1 pliego*, original.

numbers we were unable to prevent him from taking the fort, for from his pinnaces and shallops he played so many guns on the fort, not a man dared to remain in any part of it. When he had taken the fort, he also took the town.

I assembled the people of the place in as good order as possible and retired to a point from which I could prevent his advance, although my force was badly cut up. My hope was to keep a fighting body together that the enemy might not forget himself and begin (p. 2) to capture the women, children, aged and ill, who were scattered over the adjacent countryside.

When he had taken the town the Englishman again sent me word to permit trade, saying that unless I did so he would burn and destroy the town and invade the interior and capture and steal whatever he might find. I answered him to do as he pleased, since I preferred to lose my worldly goods rather than to yield a jot of your majesty's commands. Immediately upon the messenger's arrival there he began to fire the town and that day he burned about half of it.

The next day in the morning he set out with as many as four hundred men and his field artillery, to invade the land. I opposed him with the few men I had. Wherever he turned I preceded him, doing what damage I could to his men, and burning and destroying the fields and food crops and farm-houses belonging to the people of the town. Seeing that their very owners were destroying their own houses and estates, the Englishman returned to the town in very desperate humour and burned the government house and another large portion of the town. Excepting only certain houses he needed to shelter his men, he left no others standing. He spared about one-third of the town and burned two-thirds of it.

That night a negro and a mulatto, slaves of mine, deserted to the enemy and told him they would lead him to the place, seven leagues from this city, where I had buried your majesty's royal treasure-chest, and that night they fell on a tent where I had all my goods, and where some poor and sick people and some women were in hiding. They seized these and

robbed their poverty and stole everything I had, and threatened them that unless they were ransomed they would be killed. They released a prisoner that he might come to tell me the pitiable lamentations of the rest. In order that such grievous cruelty might not be carried out, for 4000 *pesos* gold I redeemed them and what remained to be burned of the town, including its holy church, on condition that they deliver to me the mulatto and the negro aforesaid.

I paid over the 4000 *pesos* and the enemy released the prisoners. Although they promised to restore the property they had taken from them, they did not fulfil this promise. On the contrary, they stole it and carried it off. They reembarked and delivered to me the mulatto and the negro and I handed them over to your majesty's royal law that they might be punished and made an example to all the rest on this coast, and so the mulatto was hung and the negro quartered.

Before they cleared, after this ransom had been arranged, because they were unable to feed them, the English set a certain number of negroes ashore rather than throw them overboard. Some were children not over six years of age, and some were old males and old females (over a hundred years). Although the Englishman left them in recompense for the damage he did the town, acting with the royal officials I took possession of them all for your majesty and delivered them to a certain person to feed them through two or three months and so put them into condition that they might be worth something. We are now selling them off little by little despite the fact that the burghers demand them, alleging that the Englishman left them to pay for the damage done the town. I assure your majesty that had he left as many again it would not cover the damage he did here. The resultant suit at law is remitted herewith¹ that your majesty may determine what is to be done in the matter. Meantime, the proceeds from these sales will be placed in your majesty's royal treasury. I entreat your majesty to advise what is to be done.

(p. 3)

¹ Not seen.

After the Englishman had left we, your majesty's royal officials, determined to rebuild the government house which the Englishman burned. I beg your majesty to inform me with all speed if your majesty is pleased to have it rebuilt, for if such be your majesty's pleasure it will be finished; if not, the work will not go forward. It is to the interest of your majesty's service that the house be rebuilt, because of the great danger of fire and also for the safety of your majesty's royal treasury.

Let them rebuild the house, if the expense be moderate and unavoidable.

All this coast is very hopeful of the remedy for the existing situation which your majesty will provide in sending an armada to patrol, for unless your majesty sends an armada to patrol it is impossible for your majesty's vassals to live and maintain themselves in these coast towns, and they must necessarily be abandoned, out of which will arise very grave diminution of your majesty's royal fifths, for the shamelessness of these corsairs is such that they will be masters of the sea and of the land and that they will invade the interior, and they say they will settle here.

We entreat your majesty to deign to remedy all this with speed.

Our Lord preserve the exalted and very mighty person of your royal majesty and prosper your majesty through many years, with increase of many more kingdoms and dominions as I, a servant and loyal vassal of your majesty, desire.

Rio de la Hacha, September 26, 1568.

Your royal Catholic majesty's humble servant who kisses your majesty's royal feet.

Miguel de Castellanos. (Rubric.)

Document No. 24¹

[The city council of Cartagena to the crown,
September 30, 1568.]

(p. 1)

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Catholic Royal Majesty

By the fleet which left this port last February, Diego Flores de Valdes commanding, we informed your majesty of the many corsairs resorting to this coast and of the damage they were doing your majesty's subjects, and we sent *informaciones*² and evidence concerning this matter and concerning the grave need this city felt of your majesty's favour extended in form to enable it to fortify itself for defence against the said corsairs and to take the offensive against them when they should resort to this coast. All this went forward accompanied by his opinion and a very detailed report of the matter made at your majesty's command by Martin de las Alas, governor and captain general of this jurisdiction, who, we understand, by other ships which cleared from this city after the fleet had left, rendered your majesty an account of the damage which had been done by a corsair ship which off this coast seized a frigate out of Nombre de Dios with more than 150,000 *pesos*.

To go against this ship there were made ready in this city a ship and two frigates, and because of his serious illness the governor sent them forth under certain captains. They sailed along this coast, but because the corsair had at once put to sea with his prize they were unable to find him.

After this had occurred we received word in this city that off the coast of Veragua another corsair had taken another frigate out of Nicaragua with a quantity of gold and silver. Understanding that this corsair, or still another, was at San Bernaldo island, which is fourteen leagues from here, with two ships and a frigate the governor went out in person in search of him with a good force, well equipped, and met him and took from him two frigates he had seized. Because the corsair's was the faster ship and had the wind, although they followed until he was lost from sight, they could not overhaul him.

¹ *A. de I. 72-4-31, 1 pliego*, original.

² Not seen.

After we had been through all this, we received word from Cabo de la Vela that John Hawkins, English corsair, with eleven very powerful ships and a large force of men and heavy armament of artillery, under cover of selling certain slaves and other merchandise he had, was doing damage along the coast where the towns refused to buy on his terms what he offered for sale. He occupied the (p. 2) town of Rio de la Hacha and did the same with the city of Santa Marta.

Being so advised of what was occurring, this city prepared and armed itself as well as it was able with the few arms and scanty artillery it possesses, with intent to prevent the corsair from entering this town. He appeared at the beginning of July of this current year with four good big ships and six others, smaller, and anchored in the harbour of this city.

From his anchorage the corsair wrote to the governor and municipal council saying that he was there with those ships and that he carried certain slaves and other merchandise and that it was not his purpose to do any damage but to sell them. Reply was made that nothing could be bought of him in this city because your majesty forbade and that, therefore, he should immediately depart from the port and leave it clear. Other letters and other answers, demands and protestations on both sides were exchanged, in consequence of which the corsair drew in to the city with his ships and began to bombard the town. He was answered in similar terms, in which we showed more spirit than really corresponded to the equipment of artillery we had with which to offend him. Seeing that we were determined to defend the town, he ceased firing and the city ceased also.

Later, finding that he could not carry out his intentions here he retired and attacked on other lines, asking that inasmuch as we wished to buy nothing of him, since he lacked subsistence we should furnish him certain cattle and corn and permit him to take in water. To all which he was answered to take a seasonable departure and not to waste time, since nothing would be bought, and much less would anything be supplied him.

These demands and our refusals kept him in this port ten

or twelve days. Seeing that we were unwilling to do anything he asked, he made sail and went his way, as your majesty may order to be seen in the *informaciones*¹. Captain Yuste Guerra, who is going to court as this city's procurator, will present before your majesty.

Certain it is that during the time this corsair was here this city suffered many hardships which fell upon all its burghers and residents, for since we had not sufficient artillery nor force with which to defend ourselves, nor even arms enough to warrant us in resisting an attack, our entire defence was reduced to courage, vigilance and caution. The people were diligent and in every respect did all that was possible, and above all, after the will of God that this corsair should not destroy it, the city owes its preservation to the steadfast determination of your majesty's governor, Martin de las Alas, not to permit the English to enter or to trade here in any amount either large or small, or to allow food supplies or water or anything else to be furnished them, in all which, and in every other matter that came up in the course of the affair, he showed the zeal he feels in your majesty's service and for the welfare of this jurisdiction over which he is governor. Although he was quite ill at the time, he worked harder than his physical condition warranted and therefore he deserves that your majesty reward him for this and his other services rendered.

As your majesty will observe by the *informaciones* we sent forward with Diego Flores' fleet and by those which the said Captain Yuste Guerra carries, this city is in serious want, reduced to poverty by the heavy expense it regularly incurs with respect to these corsairs, and if it is to maintain itself it will be necessary for your majesty to favour it, that it may fortify itself, with troops and with artillery and arms, in such fashion that even were another corsair such as this last to appear, or with even greater force, the city can defend itself; otherwise the people have no recourse except to abandon the town and go to other parts to find a place in which to live in safety. Inasmuch as your majesty is aware that this is

¹ Not seen.

the most important (p. 3) and principal harbour of all this Mainland coast, because it is a port of call and refuge for the fleets that come to Nombre de Dios, from which the kingdom of New Granada and other provinces draw their supplies, which provinces without this city cannot well maintain themselves, we entreat your majesty that as your majesty favours other ports of less value and importance than this one, ordering them fortified and from the royal treasury provided with what they need to that end, your majesty will do as much for this city, inasmuch as its people serve your majesty loyally upon every occasion with their persons and their property. Captain Yuste will ask for what is needed at the present moment, to whose petitions and to the reports to be sent by the governor we refer and we beg that Captain Yuste Guerra be heard on all other points and given all credence, to whom we remit our interests in matters he may take up before your majesty, whom your majesty will order to be despatched with what favour may be shown us by the next fleet or vessels cleared for this port, that we may be prepared, for this corsair or others will return this summer, very especially since this Englishman departed from this place in great indignation. In so doing your majesty will show us favour and save this city expense.

Our Lord preserve the Catholic royal person of your majesty with increase of very much larger kingdoms and dominions, as your majesty's royal heart desires.

Cartagena, September 30, 1568.

Catholic Royal Majesty, your majesty's loyal vassals kiss your majesty's royal hands.

Martin de las Alas.

Melchor del Castillo.

Juan (?) de Coronado Maldonado.

Juan Velazquez.

Juan de Montalvo.

Jorge de Escamilla (?).

Pedro de Soran.

Francisco de Carvajal.

Alvaro de Mercado.

By order of the *Alcaldes* and councilmen,

Francisco de Alba. (Rubrics.)

Document No. 25¹

[Don Martin Enriquez² to John Hawkins, from aboard the Spanish flagship, off San Juan de Ulua, September 18, 1568.]

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I well believe that your honour's arrival in that port was forced by the great need your honour had of subsistence and other things, as your honour writes me. So also I am certain that, as your honour says, your honour has not mistreated any vassal of his majesty's, nor done any damage with your fleet in those ports and parts where it has called, but that your honour has engaged solely in bartering slaves and other merchandise carried, paying in same for the subsistence taken, at its just value; and further that your honour has paid the dues payable to his majesty's royal revenues.

Wherefore I am content to accept the proposal which your honour makes in your letter, asking me to deliver hostages and to enter the port in peace, although I was determined to the contrary. Therefore I send ten principal persons and rely upon what your honour states, that those your honour sends me are similar persons. I well believe that although the people of this fleet enter without arms into the island, they will not be prevented from going about their affairs, nor harrassed in any fashion. And I am very confident that when we meet, friendship will augment between these fleets, since both are so well disciplined.

Our Lord preserve, etc.

September 18, 1568.

¹ *A. de I. 141-7-1, ½ pliego*, simple copy. This very interesting document was found unaccompanied by any remotely related to it, in a package entitled "Copies and drafts, the council for Indies, 1526-1619." It is headed "Copy of the letter which John Hawkins carries." It was doubtless furnished to the council by the viceroy himself, an exhibit attached to whatever official report he made of the affair at San Juan de Ulua.

² The Spanish fleet had cleared in command of Don Francisco de Luxan as captain-general; his second was Admiral Ubilla. But to forestall any conflict of jurisdiction, since Don Martin Enriquez, viceroy, was a passenger, Don Martin had been provided with a *cédula* vesting in him supreme command (to be found in *A. de I. 52-1-12/9*; it is dated Aranjuez, March 19, 1568). This *cédula* the viceroy served on Luxan as the fleet lay off Vera Cruz, before entering. From that moment Luxan became simply a captain under Don Martin's orders. While to Luxan would appear to belong the military credit for Hawkins' defeat, on Don Martin Enriquez rests full responsibility for the Spanish policy employed.

Document No. 26¹

[Luis Zegri to the *Audiencia*² in Mexico City,
from Vera Cruz, September 18, 1568.]

... *Very Powerful Sir*

(p. 10) Yesterday, Friday, the 17th of this current month of September, in the afternoon, thirteen sails appeared off the river mouth of this city. This happened after the Englishman had taken the island of San Juan de Ulua with eight ships, as I wrote to your highness from Jalapa yesterday morning and again to-day, after I reached this city, at about eight in the morning.

I went down to the river mouth to await a frigate which was sent out to learn what ships these were, which were anchored off the river mouth. It returned at about two o'clock, after dinner, with news that they were the fleet, Francisco de Luxan general commanding. Don Martín Enriquez, son of the Marqués de Alcañizes, (p. 11) is aboard, commissioned viceroy for New Spain. There are thirteen sail and they say they left Spain on July 6. His excellency has with him a son of his aged ten or twelve years, who is already in this city. He came ashore in the frigate which brought the news, along with some of the viceroy's valuables.

A gentleman who accompanies the viceroy's son says that the Englishman sent the viceroy word that his intentions are pacific; he means to dispose of certain merchandise he carries, and in guarantee that he will keep his word he gave over ten leading men of his fleet as hostages, and from the Spanish fleet as many others were given him. Despite this, he has fortified himself on the island and is very alert. To be freer there he sent ashore the negroes and all persons who were on the island. According to what they say—I mean, to what this

¹ *A. de I. 2-5-1/20*, Document 12-3, pp. 10-12. Copy.

² The superscription reads: "To the very powerful President and Judges of the Royal *Audiencia* and Court of Chancery of New Spain." The *Audiencia* as such was entitled to the title of "highness" which Zegri uses.

gentleman who came with the viceroy's son says—to-night if the weather permits the whole fleet will enter the harbour.

Of the prisoners he had the Englishman released Antonio Delgadillo, that he might serve as intermediary, I think. They also released Martin de Marcana.

This town is more thoroughly sacked than as though the Englishman had taken it, for in consequence of the alarm caused by the Englishman's entrance into the port, those persons who owned little wished to aid those who had something to save it, or so it seems, and they saved it for themselves; therefore there is nothing to eat available nor anybody at hand to whom to give an order to procure it, for ever since the fleet appeared all the burghers are out hunting for their goods, to see if they can recover part of what they hid in the bush.

I have herewith reported in brief to your highness on events so far and I will do the same with respect to what may occur hereafter. Your highness will take steps to provide for the viceroy en route (p. 12) for I think he will not remain here long.

Our Lord preserve your highness' powerful person in prosperity through long years as we, your highness' servitors, desire.

Vera Cruz, Saturday, at four in the afternoon, September 18,

Your highness' servant,

Don Luis Zegri.

Document No. 27¹

[Don Martin Enriquez' statement and supporting depositions,
San Juan de Ulua, September 27-30, 1568.]

(f. 115) . . . In the port of San Juan de Ulua in this New Spain, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of September in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight, the most illustrious Don Martin Enriquez, viceroy and governor, captain general of New Spain and president of the royal *Audiencia* and court of chancery which by his majesty's order therein resides, before me, Hernando Vehedor, notary public and clerk of records for the city and port of Vera Cruz, stated that whereas:

As he was sailing in the fleet which at present writing is anchored in the said port, of which fleet his lordship is general in command, on Friday, the seventeenth day of this present month, being en route to said port, with intent to enter it with the fleet, and having sighted the harbour and being about to enter, some three leagues out at sea he was met by a small boat which Antonio Delgadillo, captain and inspector for the island and port of San Juan de Ulua, had sent out to him to inform him that the port was occupied by Captain John Hawkins, English corsair, with seven armed vessels, (f. 115 r.) who had entered the harbour the day before; on learning which his illustrious lordship brought the fleet to, and while he was waiting, in a cross sea, for the admiral, aboard which was Captain Juan de Ubilla, and another ship which was with him, to come up, Captain Antonio Delgadillo appeared with peace proposals on behalf of the said captain, John Hawkins.

In view of which his lordship issued a call to council to be held aboard the flagship, summoning General Francisco de Luxan and all the captains and masters of the ships of the fleet, and together with them proceeded to consider the situation presented by the fact that John Hawkins with his ships was in possession of the harbour and by Captain Delgadillo had sent him word to that effect, and bidding all present

* ¹ *A. de I. 51-6-16/14, ff. 115 et seq.*

express their opinion whether or not it would be well to force an immediate entrance into the harbour.

Which persons expressed it as their opinion that it was not wise to enter by force, but peaceably to make the port and tie up the ships, and that (f. 116) this accomplished, they would do as his illustrious lordship might advise, inasmuch as until this was done the ships were in danger of loss, for the wind was from the north and the enemy had the advantage in that he was within the roadstead, his ships lightened, while those of the fleet were merchantmen, heavily laden, according as all appears more at length in their opinions as set forth.

Wherefore, in view of this opinion, his lordship decided to make the port, entering on terms of peace, until his ships should be anchored and tied up in the harbour; and therefore he sent Captain Delgadillo back with word to that effect, who went and arranged for the entrance of said fleet into the harbour.

Because the weather was unpropitious the fleet remained outside from Friday until the following Tuesday, which was the twenty-first day of the month of September.

When his lordship came into the port with the fleet he found that Captain John Hawkins had taken possession of the island and of his majesty's artillery and that (f. 116 r.) he had fortified himself on the island with palisades based on the House of Lies¹, and thrown up three works wherein he had placed ordnance from his ships, which works he had manned with his soldiers.

Wherefore in order in council to determine ways and means to seize and punish him and eject him from the island, his lordship again summoned the said general and admiral and the other captains and masters and asked their views and took measures to drive the enemy from the harbour and to make the necessary attacks and assaults, which persons expressed their opinion and his illustrious lordship determined

¹ This name would indicate simply that there had been considerable deception connected with its construction; similarly "the House of Fear" in Havana was merely one toward the building of which the governor compelled the burghers to contribute.

that the following Thursday, which was the twenty-third of the said month of September, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, the attack should be made as follows:

That a cargo boat belonging to Diego Felipe, which hulk was large and empty, should be brought up between the Spanish and English flagships, with one hundred and fifty men aboard, armed with arquebuses and targets (f. 117) and what other weapons could be provided, for the Spanish flagship lay too far away and could not come alongside the English, and the wind was adverse; and that General Francisco de Luxan and Admiral Juan de Ubilla should accompany this party and endeavour to come alongside the English flagship;

And that when they should have arrived near enough to board, the said general should make a sign to the viceroy, who, from his flagship would order a trumpet blown, at which signal Captain Antonio Delgadillo with men from Vera Cruz, on one hand, and Captain Pedro de Yebra with men from the same town, on another, should assault the island and take the forts and artillery which the English had in them, trained on the fleet; and that forces from the fleet should come up in boats to reinforce the island and the hulk, and in this manner and in this order the enemy and his fleet and the island should be seized;

This plan having been determined upon (f. 117 r.) and his post assigned each person according to same, during the night of Wednesday one hundred and fifty men were placed aboard the hulk and the next day, Thursday, the general and the admiral also went aboard with the purpose of laying her alongside the English flagship, the general to give the sign at the appointed time;

But as soon as they had come aboard, which was about an hour before the hour set, and when the hulk was still far distant from the English flagship, without waiting to come alongside her, and having no order so to do, Captain Juan de Ubilla, admiral of the fleet, gave the sign it was the general's duty to make, and the viceroy, thereby understanding that all was ready, had the trumpet blown, at which signal Captains Antonio Delgadillo and Pedro de Yebra,

from their respective directions, attacked the House of Lies and took the forts and artillery, killing and putting to flight the English who were (f. 118) on duty there, and with the ordnance so taken from them bombarded the enemy's fleet.

Because the admiral made the sign so far ahead of time, his party from Diego Felipe's boat being unable to board the English flagship, the enemy had opportunity to withdraw and with their artillery open fire and escape with their admiral and a shallop, in which they made away with most of their goods and loot they had taken, and with same retired half a league from the port, leaving in the viceroy's possession the flagship and four other vessels with their artillery and munitions;

And because it was late and the fleet's ships were laden and could not quickly be made ready, and because their forces were scattered, it was impossible to give immediate chase, and at midnight the wind shifted to the north, for which reasons none of the vessels could follow after John Hawkins. As he left the harbour the said John Hawkins (f. 118 r.) was on the point of wrecking, for he had anchored near La Caja and the wind drove him toward shore, and if he, who was in ballast without cargo, was almost lost, how much more certainly would any of the ships of the fleet have been, being laden with merchandise. And so John Hawkins made off with his admiral and a shallop, his lordship being unable to take him.

And to inform his majesty and to render an account of all the aforesaid, he ordered the following evidence taken, and it was taken, and his lordship signed.

Don Martin Enriquez.

By his illustrious lordship's order,

Hernando Vehedor, notary public.

Witness. Whereupon, in the said port of San Juan de Ulua, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of September in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight, to the end aforesaid, his illustrious lordship caused to appear before him Captain

Francisco Maldonado, native of the city of Cadiz, who was legally sworn by God and by Holy Mary (f. 119), and by the sign of the cross, upon which he placed his right hand, promising to tell the truth to the best of his knowledge concerning those matters about which he might be questioned, and being interrogated according to the commencement of this writ, he said that what he knows of the matter is that:

Bound from the province of Campeche for the port of San Juan de Ulua, with a ship of his in which he had cleared from Santo Domingo with wines, about 35 leagues to sea deponent was met by Captain John Hawkins with his fleet of seven vessels, who took deponent and carried him a prisoner aboard his flagship to the port of San Juan. Having arrived there on the sixteenth of the present month of September, on the seventeenth of said month appeared the fleet which brought the viceroy and deponent, observed that Captain John Hawkins sent Captain Antonio Delgadillo to this fleet to treat of peace. The captain went (f. 119 r.) but deponent is not informed concerning the opinions emitted by the fleet's captains and masters, for he was not present. Three days later the viceroy with his fleet entered peaceably into the harbour.

When witness saw this fleet he went to it, and observed that before the fleet entered John Hawkins, English captain, had occupied the island of San Juan de Ulua and taken possession of his majesty's artillery which was on the island and ejected all the Spaniards and the contributed negroes¹, and built palisades about the House of Lies, and thrown up three works—one based on the said house, another at La Ventanilla, another above the smithy, and manned these with soldiers.

Having entered with the fleet, his lordship summoned the general and admiral and other masters to determine on a plan to drive the English captain out of the port and punish him and his company in proportion to their delinquency (f. 120) in having occupied the port, and his lordship determined

¹ The burghers had been assessed, and contributed the labour of their slaves toward the work of fortification.

that the following Thursday, which was the twenty-third of the month of September, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, the enemy should be attacked.

General Francisco de Luxan and Admiral Juan de Ubilla with one hundred and fifty men, arquebusiers and targeteers, with what arms could be provided, were to board Diego Felipe's hulk, which was large and in ballast, for the flagship was at a distance and could not be laid alongside in time. They were to endeavour to lay her alongside the English flagship; and when they were near and could board, the captain was to make a sign to the viceroy who, from the flagship, would order a trumpet blown, at which signal deponent, with seventy men whom he had been ordered to hold ready in another ship which was...¹ the English flagship, and Captain Delgadillo with men from (f. 120 r.) Vera Cruz on the one hand and Captain Pedro de Yebra with more men from the same city, should all come forth and take the land batteries, in which the English had ordnance trained on the fleet, and in boats forces from the fleet were to come up to reinforce the island and the hulk, and in this manner it was decided and determined, and order given each man as to his part.

Deponent saw how, the night before, the men boarded the said hulk, rather more than one hundred and fifty than less, and next day when the general and admiral should have carried out this plan, being at his post with his men, deponent heard it said that the admiral had made the sign which the general was to have made. Deponent heard the signal he was instructed to obey and came forth with his men to attack the enemy, who resisted and killed three of deponent's men and wounded four others. Witness saw that the said hulk had not come alongside, nor could come alongside the English flagship (f. 121) because the admiral had made the sign too soon.

Witness saw that the said Captains Antonio Delgadillo and Pedro de Yebra, each from the direction assigned him, attacked the House of Lies and took the works and the

¹ A word omitted from the original.

ordnance which the English had there, and killed them, and made them flee, and our ships played on the enemy's palisades and so took them.

Witness believes that because Admiral Juan de Ubilla gave the sign ahead of time the hulk was unable to lay alongside the English flagship, wherefore the enemy had opportunity to cut his cables and withdraw, and get clear with his flagship and admiral and three shallop, and bring his artillery into action.

Seeing that the enemy was playing his ships' artillery, the townspeople set fire to a vessel which was in the harbour to be sunk, and sent it against the English flagship, which (f. 121 r.) fireship bore down on the enemy's vessels. Observing this, the English abandoned their flagship and four shallop, of which one was sunk by artillery fire, and everything else fell into his illustrious lordship's hands, along with all the artillery and munitions aboard.

As soon as they had abandoned their flagship, the enemy's admiral and a shallop made sail and anchored half a cannon-shot from the port; but because it was late and the men were busied in looting the flagship and other vessels, and because the people were scattered, no order was issued to follow and take the English admiral and shallop, and the next day a north wind blew, so that it was not possible to follow her.

When the English admiral anchored off La Caxa she was on the point of wrecking, although she was riding light, having no cargo. Deponent believes that had any vessel of the fleet pursued her, it must have run very great risk, because heavily laden.

All which occurred because the sign was made too soon; had it been made (f. 122) at the proper time not an English ship would have escaped. As things were, John Hawkins made off with his admiral and a shallop and with all his goods. This is the truth on the oath deponent took, and he signed it with his name, being over 36 years old and not affected by the general questions.

Deponent said further that when Captains Pedro de Yebra and Antonio Delgadillo attacked the French (*sic*) land batteries

and works forces from the fleet came to their support in boats, and this is the truth.

Francisco Maldonado.

Before me, Hernando Vehedor, notary public.

Witness. Whereupon, in the said port of San Juan de Ulua, on the twenty-eighth day of the said month of September in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight, to obtain further evidence in the matter, his illustrious lordship caused to appear before him Antonio Delgadillo, captain and inspector for the island and port of San Juan de Ulua who, being (f. 122 r.) sworn¹ by God and by Holy Mary and by the sign of the cross, in legal form, and questioned according to the commencement of this writ, deposed that what he knows of the affair is that:

Last Thursday, which was the sixteenth of the present month of September, in the afternoon, deponent being on the island of San Juan de Ulua, the English ships appeared off the port, which vessels deponent supposed to be the fleet from Spain. He therefore ordered the balls to be removed from five pieces of ordnance which his majesty has in this port, in deponent's custody, and after the said English ships had anchored he ordered them to be saluted and they were saluted, to which salute the English flagship replied, this being usual procedure with respect to ships out of Spain. Then a boat came to where deponent was with word that these were corsair ships.

Deponent attempted to make use of his artillery and of the people of the port, for defence, but not a man stood by (f. 123) excepting eight persons. The artillerymen all fled in boats to the mainland. In view of which deponent sent two men to the enemy flagship to learn the English vessels' purpose and to bid their commander send a representative

¹ This deposition shows that Captain Delgadillo found it inconvenient to admit that when Hawkins entered the harbour he was not at his post, behind loaded artillery, in position to defend the port, to keep which safe was his responsibility.

to treat with deponent as to their object. The commander sent such a person to tell deponent to rest assured, that neither he nor his men would land on the island, and he kept his word up to Friday at dawn, when the Spanish fleet appeared.

Then John Hawkins, commanding the English ships, requested deponent to go in a boat to the Spanish ships and negotiate with the captain general to the end that he should enter peaceably, for such was Hawkins' desire and petition. This deponent did. And even before this, at daybreak, when the Spanish fleet was sighted, witness had sent a boat to the fleet with warning that the port (f. 123 r.) was occupied by the English, and later he went in person and treated with the viceroy, as John Hawkins had charged him.

In deponent's presence the viceroy ordered the fleet to heave to, and with its vessels waited almost all day for the admiral to come up, and when that vessel had come up he summoned the captains and masters aboard the flagship and laid before them the English captain's representation to deponent and the council considered whether it were wise to force an entrance into the port or, if not, what should be done. These persons expressed their opinion that it was not advisable to attempt to enter the harbour by force, in view of the advantage the corsair had, being within; but that it was advisable to enter the harbour and tie up and make the ships so far safe from the enemy and from the weather, for it was winter and the season for north winds, for which reason the fleet was in very grave danger and risk, and that no other procedure should be adopted. Seeing which the viceroy returned deponent with assurance which he gave that (f. 124) he would enter the port in peace.

When deponent returned to the island of San Juan de Ulua he found that John Hawkins had taken possession of it, and trained on the roadstead and its entrance his majesty's five pieces of ordnance and seven more from his own ships, which he had planted in the house they call the House of Lies.

Deponent negotiated with the English captain and it was agreed that the Spanish fleet should enter the port in peace,

an equal number of hostages from both sides being exchanged, and this agreement having been reached, deponent returned to the viceroy's fleet, carrying with him two English gentlemen, who were to come back with the final determination. The hostages having been exchanged, because of adverse weather the fleet was unable to enter the harbour until the following Tuesday, September 21. Having entered the harbour, they found that the English had fortified themselves on the said island and erected works there for artillery (f. 124 r.) with stakes and palisades and manned these with a good force of men detailed for the defence of said works and of the island.

Believing it to be for the good of his majesty's service to expel the corsairs from the harbour and punish them for their audacity, the viceroy again called to council General Francisco de Luxan, Admiral Ubilla and the other captains, and it was resolved that the following Thursday, September 23, at about 11 o'clock in the morning, the attack should be made on the following plan:

General Francisco de Luxan and the admiral were to board Diego Felipe's cargo boat, which was unloaded and had come up between the English and the Spanish flagships. They were to command a party of one hundred and fifty men who had been sent aboard this hulk the night before and they were to endeavour to lay her alongside the corsairs' flagship, and when they were alongside or near (f. 125) General Francisco de Luxan was to make a sign with a cloth to the viceroy, who remained aboard the flagship, that, seeing this signal, he might order a trumpet to be blown, at which signal deponent with the men of Vera Cruz from aboard the ships nearest the House of Lies and the island might play their ordnance on the enemy's works and then land with these people to take the works on the island. Captain Pedro de Yebra with men from Vera Cruz was to aid, from the other side. All this was done as planned and determined, except that the signal of the trumpet call was given much earlier than had been agreed upon, so that many soldiers had not yet armed. Nevertheless, deponent carried out the part assigned to him, threw himself

into the water, and landed, and with the aid of the other party the harbour forts were carried and their artillery turned on the English ships (f. 125 r.) as were the batteries of some of the ships, so that of seven vessels the corsair had, five were taken, among them his flagship. Deponent believes that more than one hundred and fifty persons were killed or captured.

The English captain then withdrew to his admiral and a small shallop and in these with some of his people left the port with such a north wind against him it seemed he must drive ashore; in view of which the viceroy ordered certain men of the neighbourhood to ride to the other side and await this eventuality. The English anchored near the roadstead, out of range of our artillery, and because the wind was from the north our ships, being laden, could not follow them. Although the English admiral was in ballast she was on the point of wrecking on La Caxa or the coast reefs, for which reason the corsair could not be followed.

Deponent inquired afterwards why the trumpet had sounded so (f. 126) soon and was told that the admiral had made the sign which was to have been made by the general, and done so ahead of time, but deponent did not see this, for he was at a distance with his party, but that this occurred was public and notorious and this is what deponent knows of the matter, on his oath, and he signed it with his name. Deponent is over 34 years old and not affected by the general questions.

Antonio Delgadillo.

Before me, Hernando Vehedor, notary public.... (f. 141)....

Whereupon, in the said port of San Juan de Ulua, on the twenty-ninth day of September in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight, to learn the truth of this matter, his illustrious lordship summoned before him Captain Juan de Ubilla, his majesty's captain ordinary, admiral of the fleet, who was sworn; and being sworn in legal form, upon a sign of the cross, under oath he promised to tell the truth to the

best of his ability, and was asked the following questions:
(f. 141 r.)

He was asked if it is true that on the seventeenth of the present month of September, as the viceroy with the fleet approached this port of San Juan de Ulua to enter it, at a distance of some three leagues from the port the fleet was met by a small boat which had been sent out by Captain Antonio Delgadillo to warn him that the harbour was occupied by John Hawkins, English corsair captain, with seven English men-of-war, upon hearing which his lordship brought the fleet to and waited for the admiral, which vessel was bringing up the rear with two other ships. Deponent answered that this is true.

Asked if presently Captain Antonio Delgadillo came out with peace proposals from the said Captain Hawkins, whereupon his lordship summoned to council aboard the flagship General Francisco de Luxan, the admiral, and all the captains, masters and owners (f. 142) of the fleet, and, when they had so assembled, informed them that the port was occupied by the said John Hawkins, and of the message sent him by Captain Antonio Delgadillo, bidding them express their opinions whether it would be well to force an immediate entrance or to enter in peace, which persons advised that the fleet enter peaceably, for reasons they set forth, deponent answered that he was not present at this council, because he had not yet come up with the ships which were in the rear, but that as soon as he came up he went aboard the flagship and was told of it, fully. The viceroy and the general commanding informed deponent that the council's resolution had been to do nothing until deponent arrived, for they did not wish to fight or take any other measure until he should come up in person with his forces, since the whole strength of the fleet lay therein, and for this reason they had held back. (f. 142 r.)

Deponent gave it as his opinion, in respect to the peace pact, that it was a just and honest arrangement to make pending such time as they should arrive within the port and tie up the ships to the masters' satisfaction; and that it was

proper to give the hostages asked, man for man, value for value, according to military usage.

Certain seamen and certain soldiers attired like their betters, whom his lordship and Captain Francisco de Luxan ordered to serve in this capacity, drew lots as to who should go. They did not wish to go. Deponent gave it as his opinion that in such junctures it was advisable to give persons of secondary importance as hostages, to do so being for the good of God's and his majesty's services and for the common welfare, but, if it were necessary and he were not needed elsewhere, deponent would himself go in person, or, since not in person, would send a nephew, son of his sister, who was a sergeant under him, and also his colour-bearer and two squad masters, all four Viscayan gentlemen, that the English might feel greater assurance, (f. 143) upon hearing which his lordship remarked that deponent talked like the man he is, and could say no more; and so, since they were present, the general's officers (not only the captain, but also his colour-bearer and four other soldiers) gathered heart to go as hostages, with the admiral's nephew, which greatly quieted the English, the hostages report. They say that peace or war lay in the admiral's hand at that moment, for he had his nephew with him, and his forces, and was a fighting man.

Asked if he knows that, in view of the opinions expressed, his lordship decided to enter the harbour in peace and tie up his ships, and lie at anchor therein, and sent Captain Antonio Delgadillo with a message to this effect, that he might arrange peace with the Englishman, and it was so capitulated with the said Englishman, deponent stated that this was done, in accordance with deponent's advice and opinion.

Asked if, on September 21, on entering (f. 143 r.) the port with the fleet, his lordship found that Captain John Hawkins had taken possession of the island and of his majesty's artillery there, and with palisades based on the House of Lies built three works, where he had planted ordnance and stationed men to hold same, deponent said that this is true.

Asked if, on finding that John Hawkins had occupied the

island, in order to punish and eject him, his lordship again summoned to council the general and admiral and the other captains and masters, to adopt measures to drive the enemy out and to take the necessary offensive, in which council it was resolved that the following Thursday, September 23, at about 11 o'clock in the morning, the attack should be made as follows:

Between the two flagships (f. 144) Diego Felipe's hulk was to be sent in (for it was capacious and empty) with one hundred and fifty arquebusiers and targeteers, the admiral and general accompanying them. They were to come alongside the English flagship and when they should have arrived near enough to board the general was to make a sign to the viceroy, who, from the Spanish flagship, was to order a trumpet to be blown, at which signal Captains Delgadillo and Pedro de Yebra with their forces and seamen should storm the forts and reinforce the hulk. Deponent stated that all this is true, except that deponent is not in agreement with the statement that the general was ordered to give the sign, nor does he recall that this was the understanding, nor was he so instructed.

Once aboard (f. 144 r.) the cargo boat with the said general, deponent ordered the men to come up where he was and to haul away at the bows in order to grapple with the Englishman, and he had the men arm. Since the English recognized the admiral, they suspected what was up and the English captain said to deponent that he had not conducted himself like a gentleman in that he had tricked them, and (*sic*) the day before, and deponent retorted that he was following his calling like a captain and a fighter, and the Englishman answered that he was quite right and shot an arrow at him, and the captain's companion fired an arquebus which killed a soldier at deponent's side, whereupon deponent sought the general to speak with him, and could not speak with him because, in addition to his being elsewhere, deponent made a sign to the flagship to Don (f. 145) Luis Zegri, who was aboard her, to sound the trumpet, and he did so, and then cried "Santiago!" and the enemy attacked and deponent

attacked the enemy, and endeavoured to lay alongside, but haul away on the cable as he would, they moved off faster and got away to a distance.

Seeing this and realizing that he could not board, deponent went ashore and made a mulatto put two barrels of powder aboard a vessel and set fire to it that it might drive against the English and burn their ships, but the fire set failed to catch immediately and from the flagship the navigating officer, on his knees, called out to him that his lordship was alone aboard that ship with four or five men.

Thereupon, by sheer force of laying on, deponent drove back aboard (f. 145 r.) what men he could and himself went in person to the viceroy's relief. Deponent went to the cabin at the poop, expecting to find his lordship there, but instead found him by the mainmast, armed and in proper spirit, and while they were talking together a shot fired from the English admiral carried away the pike one of his attendants was carrying. After informing his lordship of the course of the victory, as he saw it, deponent returned ashore and encountered General Francisco de Luxan, who had taken his post by the ordnance and was playing the artillery which was in the House of Lies, which position he never left, since the admiral was moving from place to place and fulfilling the obligations of his office.

Deponent asked if the vessel of which he had planned to make a fireship had caught light and, as above described (f. 146) was told that it had not. He then sought out Felipe Boquin and entreated him to hand over his vessel, offering any price Boquin might ask, if he would set it ablaze in all four quarters that it might drive against the English and fire them, and this was done. Seeing the fire coming down upon them, the English decided to abandon their flagship and board the admiral and a shallop, with which they cleared. Victory was achieved, thanks to this manœuvre, for had it not been for the fireship, lying as they did, elbow to elbow, the English ships would have sunk the Spanish, such was their armament.

Asked, order having been given the general to make the sign to the flagship after the cargo boat should have come

alongside the enemy flagship and when his party was ready to board, (f. 146 r.) by whose authority deponent made the sign which the general was to make, and before the said hulk had come alongside the enemy flagship, deponent replied that it was because he is a military man and the battle had begun in the attack on him, and the general did not appear nor could he speak with him, as he has stated, in order to avoid worse consequences, and because he was confident that his lordship would approve what he might do, being admiral and second in command, it seemed proper to him to make the sign, and had he not done as he did the fleet would have been lost.

Asked if it is true that after John Hawkins and his shallop had left the port it was impossible to follow and take them because there were no vessels ready to pursue¹, since they were laden with merchandise, and the admiral had burned (f. 147) and the flagship was so badly battered by shot that she could scarcely float, and the wind was adverse. Deponent considered that it was not advisable to pursue even had the weather been favourable, because the enemy's was a strong ship and lay close to La Caxa and had any of the merchants followed, that vessel would have been lost and run into serious danger. It was very regrettable that such a ship did not pursue, as none did, and this is the truth on the oath he took. Deponent ratified and affirmed his statements and signed his name; and said that he is over 40 years of age.

Juan de Ubilla.

Before me, Hernando Vehedor, notary public.... (f. 148)....

Witness. Whereupon in the said port of San Juan de Ulua on the thirtieth day of the month of September of the said year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight, to obtain further evidence his most illustrious lordship caused to appear before him Francisco de Bustamante, lieutenant-treasurer for his majesty, burgher and (f. 148 r.) municipal councilman of the city of Vera Cruz, who was sworn by God and by Holy Mary and

¹ From the text of the original it is not possible to discover where the question ends and Ubilla's reply and opinion begins.

the sign of the cross, in legal form, on which oath he promised to tell the truth to the best of his knowledge concerning matters about which he might be questioned, and being interrogated according to the commencement of this writ deponent stated that what he knows of the matter is that:

On Thursday, the 16th of the present month of September, two large ships and five small vessels, constituting an English fleet, in command of an Englishman named John Hawkins, entered this port of San Juan de Ulua at about five or six o'clock in the afternoon. Next day, Friday, there appeared sailing toward the harbour and about to enter it by the north channel, the Spanish fleet with which (f. 149) came his illustrious lordship, Don Martin Enriquez. This fleet comprised twelve or thirteen vessels.

Deponent was a prisoner aboard the English flagship, for the day before he had gone out in a small sailboat to the English fleet, believing that it was Spanish, as the sailors of the said boat asserted and affirmed. He was taken and remained a prisoner aboard the flagship and saw how, when the English sighted the Spanish fleet, they sallied forth and about fifty of them with their general landed on the island and took entire possession of its fort and the artillery there, both the tax guns and also six bronze pieces from Diego Felipe's hulk, and presently witness saw that from their smaller ships they removed most of the men and transferred them to the flagship and admiral, which vessels, anchored at the harbour mouth, (f. 149 r.) they prepared and cleared for action.

Aboard these vessels they had many and very choice pieces of heavy bronze and iron ordnance, trained and loaded with powder and iron shot. Deponent saw the pieces loaded. He also saw many pikes and arquebuses and targets and corselets brought up and laid out upon the quarter decks and along the midship gangways of these ships. He saw many archers with bows and arrows and heavy stones take their places in the rigging. He saw them there, armed and ready to take either offensive or defensive.

They made ready with such brevity and despatch that

by 11 o'clock in the morning they had finished the land works on the island and cleared their ships for action, all which witness saw because, as said, he was a prisoner aboard the flagship and because he went ashore on the island twice that morning, once with a guard of three (f. 150) or four Englishmen who by command of the English captain took him to land in a boat to summon Antonio Delgadillo to the flagship at once, and unless he came the Englishman would send a party to fetch him a prisoner by force. The second time the Englishman took deponent ashore with him.

Deponent saw that when Antonio Delgadillo went aboard the English ship that morning the Englishman spoke to him, in the presence of deponent and other persons, ordering him to go at once and bid the general of the Spanish fleet make a truce and come to good terms and a definite agreement under which the fleet might enter in peace and tie up, for he was already master of the port and of the island. Deponent saw that in a small boat Antonio Delgadillo went out to the fleet, and later in the afternoon of that same day deponent saw him return to the English ship with the reply. (f. 150 r.)

Further, witness saw how the English captain and some of his men on the one part and Antonio Delgadillo for the viceroy, and deponent, on the other part, talked and considered means and conditions on which peace was to be made. The Englishman refused to evacuate the island or the forts which he had there. Further, he demanded ten hostages, saying he would give ten.

Deponent saw that all that day, Friday, until nightfall, the ships of the Spanish fleet did not all come up, but two or three of them remained far in the rear and widely separated. When he came back to the English ships from the Spanish fleet, Antonio Delgadillo told deponent that one of these belated vessels was the admiral.

Deponent saw that all that day, Friday, passed without a decision being arrived at and the fleet remained outside the harbour in grave risk and danger, if a north wind had come on; and deponent knows and is certain that (f. 151) had the fleet attempted to enter by force, arms in hand, in open

warfare, it would have been at the grave risk and danger of losing many vessels and lives, because the Englishman was in so good a position and so fully prepared to inflict much damage.

Deponent observed how next day, Saturday, on certain conditions and after the exchange of the said hostages, peace was made and concluded in order that the Spanish fleet might enter to anchor and tie up safely in the harbour. Deponent knows and is certain that, given prevailing circumstances, nothing better or wiser could have been done, for by these means all the fleet was assured entrance and anchorage in this harbour as in its home port.

Because the weather was contrary the Spanish fleet was not able to come into the harbour (f. 151 r.) from Saturday, when peace was concluded and set down, until the next Tuesday, the 21st of this month; but entered that day in the morning with the current and the ships were warped up and so came safely and certainly to their anchorages, all which deponent saw, for he went aboard the flagship and remained aboard while she was anchoring. Deponent had been freed the day before and released from the imprisonment in which the Englishman had held him for some days, and from the time he was released from imprisonment deponent constantly came and went aboard the flagship where the viceroy was, to await his orders and see in what he could be of service.

So he became aware of the viceroy's determination to punish the Englishman's affront and violation of the port, and to understand (f. 152) the plan, which was as set forth at the beginning of this writ, and in so far as he was able deponent held himself ready to serve and did serve at every opportunity.

Monday night, September 20, he aided Captain Pedro de Yebra, burgher and councilman of the city of Vera Cruz, and Captain Antonio Delgadillo to embark the burghers and other persons who came from that city to serve his majesty, stationing them aboard Domingo Ochoa's and Juan Felipe's ships, and others of the fleet, where they remained all the

following Tuesday and Wednesday, waiting order and hour for action. By the night of the said Wednesday, which was the 22nd of this month, deponent knew the plan (f. 152 r.) which was to be executed next day.

It was that when the signal was given these people and burghers from Vera Cruz were to land from the ships, where they were under captains, and take the enemy's forts on the island and make a general attack upon them, and that General Francisco de Luxan and the admiral of the fleet and one hundred and fifty soldiers, arquebusiers and targeteers, should board Diego Felipe's hulk, which lay between the English and Spanish flagships. Deponent that night saw the men assigned to this post enter the hulk from Agustin de Vargas', Juan Felipe's, Felipe Boquin's and Sebastian de Quesada's vessels. They were to lay her alongside the English flagship and so attack and do their best to board. (f. 153)

That night, after he had seen most of this, deponent appeared before the viceroy to receive his lordship's orders, for deponent desired and intended to remain aboard the flagship near the viceroy, to serve in that post as he might be able; but his lordship did not wish this, but ordered ashore those who were to go ashore, for it was now time. Deponent again left the flagship and went aboard Juan Felipe's vessel, from there to land with Captain Pedro de Yebra and the men of Vera Cruz.

Next morning deponent returned aboard the flagship with Captain Pedro de Yebra to see the viceroy and to make certain what the signal was, and the viceroy said that the signal would be (f. 153 r.) a trumpet call and told them to be ready at that hour to act as prearranged. They returned to Juan Felipe's ship and made ready the men from Vera Cruz who were there, Captain Pedro de Yebra and deponent with them. They got into two small boats which were drawn up alongside the ship, and while they were so awaiting the signal they heard the trumpet which was sounded from the flagship good three-quarters of an hour sooner than they had anticipated.

Then with all possible speed the said men in the boats came to shore opposite the fort based on the House of Lies which the English held, and there landed and assaulted it and presently met Captain Delgadillo (f. 154) and the rest of the men from Vera Cruz with whom he had landed from another ship. They took all the works on the island and killed and drove the English out, and the island and its works remained in their possession for his majesty. With the ordnance which the English had loaded and trained the Spaniards now bombarded the English flagship and admiral and other vessels till they drove them out of the harbour.

Deponent saw that as soon as the men of Vera Cruz had carried and occupied said island and works, at once many small boats laden with people put off from the fleet, and the island was overrun with seamen and soldiers of whom there was no necessity whatsoever, since the fight on the island was over. When deponent remonstrated with some of them for abandoning the ships, those of lesser category exculpated themselves (f. 154 r.) with the precedent of their superiors.

Deponent heard it very publicly said by many persons who had been in positions to see, that the fleet's admiral ahead of time and without order so to do made the sign which was to have been made by the general, and especially did deponent hear this said by Don Luis Zegri, *alcalde mayor* of the city of Vera Cruz, and by other persons of quality and gentlemen who were on the flagship's poop. Deponent certainly believes that because the signal was given ahead of time, before the hulk could be laid alongside the English flagship, detriment ensued and it may have been cause sufficient to prevent the Spanish from finishing off the day's work completely and to allow the Englishman to get away with his admiral and a shallop.

For (f. 155) Thursday afternoon, while the English flagship was still under fire from the island's forts, when she and the admiral hauled off and withdrew from the harbour, and one of them anchored toward La Caxa and the other a little nearer the roadstead, deponent kept his eyes constantly on them and saw them haul down the flags they had been flying

from their mastheads, and remoye them, which is one of the signs of surrender. And when they withdrew from the harbour, had there been anybody to hurry them, or men or ships to chase them, deponent has no doubt whatever that they would have surrendered completely.

Deponent saw how presently that night the wind shifted to north and the north wind blew Friday and Saturday following. The Spanish ships which were in the port, because they were cumbered and laden with merchandise, (f. 155 r.) could not go out after the Englishman nor give him chase in a contrary wind, nor in any other, for the English admiral was in ballast and very light, and so was the shallop, and in any event once outside the harbour would have escaped.

And this is the truth of the matter and what deponent knows of it, on the oath he took, and he signed it with his name and stated that he is about 35 years old. His deposition was read to him and he affirmed it.

Francisco de Bustamante.

Before me, Hernando de Vehedor, notary public....

Document No. 28¹

[Robert Barrett, deposition, Jalapa, October 8, 1568.]

(p. 29) . . . In the town of Jalapa which is in this New Spain, his majesty's dominion, on the eighth day of the month of October of the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight, the most illustrious Don Martin Enriquez, for his majesty viceroy, governor and captain general of this realm, and president of the royal *Audiencia* herein seated, ordered that testimony and deposition be received from Robert Barrett, Englishman, master of the English flagship, whom he ordered to be brought into his presence; and when he had appeared, before me, Luis Perez, his majesty's notary, he was asked if he is a Christian Catholic or Lutheran.

Deponent stated that he is a Catholic Christian and he was sworn by God and by Holy Mary and the sign of the cross, upon which he placed his right hand, promising to speak the truth to the best of his knowledge in matters concerning which he might be questioned; who, upon being questioned and examined, replied and deposed as follows:

Asked his name and where born, deponent stated that he is called Robert Barrett and is a native of a place called Saltash in England in the port of Plymouth.

Asked if it is true that he came as master of the flagship of which John Hawkins was general and how long he has been in his company, and whose armada it was which Hawkins commanded, and with what object it was assembled, deponent stated that it is true that about a year and six days ago they sailed from the port of Plymouth which is in the

¹ *A. de I. 2-5-1/20*, Document 11, pp. 29 *et seq.* This document is an *información*, i.e. testimony assembled, at Jalapa, by Don Luis Zegri, *alcalde mayor* of Vera Cruz, and the viceroy. Depositions of various other prisoners precede Barrett's. It will be recalled that Barrett, master of the *Jesus of Lubeck* on Hawkins' second as well as his third voyage, was sent aboard the Spanish flagship to protest to the viceroy against aggressive preparations which Hawkins observed going forward. Cf. Hawkins' own account of the incident.

island of England with six ships and about four hundred men, soldiers and seamen, and that the two great ships (the flagship and the vice-admiral) belonged to the queen of England, according to deponent's understanding, and the four others, which were small vessels, the said John Hawkins equipped in company with certain (p. 30) merchants of London; and deponent was informed and understood that the said armada was assembled to go to the coast of Guinea, to a point fifteen or twenty leagues from the king of Portugal's Mina Rica. Deponent understood that two Portuguese had informed the English in this matter and because of what they said they equipped the armada, but when they were about to clear and make sail these Portuguese fled and went into France. Deponent sailed as master of the flagship.

Asked what port they made first after they had left the port of Plymouth which is in the island of England, deponent stated that because of heavy weather which they encountered the flagship and two others put in at the port of Tenerife in Santa Cruz in the Canary Islands, and the other three ships put in at La Gomera, where they rejoined each other, took in water, and from there went to Cabo Blanco on the Barbary coast to find fish to victual the ships and bread and wine and other subsistence, and in the port of Cabo Blanco discovered two caravels and a ship with nobody aboard them, anchored, some without masts and all without sails, and nothing below except some fish. It looked as though they had been looted. The said general John Hawkins took one of the caravels and refitted it and attached it to his fleet, and left the other two ships anchored there as he had found them.

From there they went to a cape called Cabo Verde, settled by negroes, and the general landed by night with a party of soldiers in military formation. Witness does not know how many they were, for it was night. They went to take negroes and had an encounter with certain negroes in which he took seven or eight and killed others. Deponent does not know how many, and they burned most of the negroes' houses which they found there. The negroes wounded and killed more than twenty-five Englishmen, and from there they went to Cabo

Rojo, a negro settlement, to trade with the Portuguese, but the Portuguese did not desire to trade with them.

Before they reached Cabo Rojo, on the coast by Cabo Verde they came upon six French vessels which were anchored on the coast, trading with the negroes, which vessels surrendered to the general. He found that one of them had no merchandise with which to trade and he took the captain and crew who were aboard and carried them and their ship along with him; and another ship, because it was doing (p. 31) no business inasmuch as there were six ships trading, spoke the said general John Hawkins and came along with him on his adventure on equal terms. He left the rest anchored on the coast, trading, and from there went to Los Idolos to take in water and coasted along to Sierra Leona and anchored in its port and found that certain negro kings were at war with certain others.

One of them entreated the general to aid him, promising to give him all the negroes he wanted and might take, and so the general aided him in his war, lending him one hundred soldiers. They won over the others and there captured two hundred and twenty negroes. This campaign ended, they bartered in the said river and on the coast for one hundred more negroes. In their ships they had brought fifty blacks from England. Deponent does not recall the name of the port where they had the fight, yet thinks it was called Tagarin, and from there they made sail for the Indies in the Atlantic, to sell the negroes and cloth and linen and other things they had aboard.

Asked their landfall in Indies, within his majesty's domain, deponent stated that they arrived at the island of La Dominica, where they took on water and wood, and from there went to La Margarita.

Asked what damage they did at La Margarita to his majesty's authorities and vassals there, deponent stated that the general sent a man ashore to inform them that he needed meat and water and other food supplies, asking them to furnish same, for which he would pay in iron and cloth and linens. The authorities and burghers of La Margarita agreed

to this and gave them meat and maize and water in exchange for linens and cloth and iron, and they were there eight or ten days and went thence to Borburata, which is in the province of Venezuela, where they remained two months, dressing their ships and revictualling as was necessary, and they traded with the burghers of the place, to whom they sold merchandise of linens and cloth and other lines they carried. They had no encounter nor any quarrel with them.

Asked where they went after they left Borburata, and if it is true that they went to Rio de la Hacha, which is at Cabo de la Vela, where, because neither the burghers nor the treasurer, Miguel de Castellanos, desired to trade with them, the said general landed with a very large body of men and burned many houses in the town (p. 32) and looted the place and did other violence and damage, deponent stated that what really happened is that having arrived at Rio de la Hacha, John Hawkins sent a messenger with a letter to the treasurer, Miguel de Castellanos, asking him to permit the burghers to do business and buy his negroes, for Hawkins had met the treasurer on a previous voyage which he had made four years before and remembered the reception he had had there. Miguel de Castellanos replied that he could not acquiesce, for he had not his majesty's authority to do so, adding that the preceding occasion when he had permitted Hawkins to trade had cost him more than 20,000 *pesos*. Seeing that he was not permitted to do business, Hawkins landed about three hundred men and himself went with them, as so also did deponent, and when they arrived in the town they found nobody, for all had withdrawn to a certain place. The general took the town and ordered certain old houses to be burned, and so about twenty houses were burned.

The next day a negro came, fleeing from where the treasurer and the people of the town were. They said he was a slave of the treasurer's. He went before the general and asked him to give him a party, saying he would lead them to a place where many chests of clothing and valuables were hidden. Deponent returned to his ship, but heard next day that John Hawkins had gone with the negro and a party and

had found the chests, and that the treasurer had come to him and had a meeting with the general and offered him *4000 pesos* from the king's chest if he would leave the town and go, and another *1000 pesos* of his own, if for these *1000 pesos* Hawkins would give him twenty head of slaves. On these terms they came to an agreement and made peace. Deponent got this information from the said John Hawkins, his general, and John Hawkins also told deponent that in exchange for the *4000 pesos*, his majesty's money, he was going to leave sixty negroes.

Deponent saw that there was no further encounter or battle. The general ordered many negroes, much linen and cloth, to be set ashore and did business with the burghers and sold them as many as one hundred and fifty negroes and cloth and linens in exchange for gold and some pearls and some silver, and he sent the treasurer sixty head of negroes in exchange for the *4000 pesos* which had been given him from his majesty's chest, according to the said John Hawkins' statement to deponent (p. 33) that he had received the *4000 pesos*. Deponent saw that the general and the treasurer exchanged presents and that the general sent the treasurer a velvet cloak with gold buttons and pearls and a gown of taffeta lined, deponent cannot recall whether with martin or some other fur; and the treasurer sent the general and presented him with and gave him a woman's girdle of large pearls, a very rich thing, and when the said John Hawkins returned aboard he brought it with him and showed it to deponent and others and said that the treasurer had given it to him.

From there they went to Santa Marta and there the general landed with one hundred men and the people of the town came down under a captain; and with their agreement a shot was fired and an old house burned, and they did business together, and the English sold negroes and merchandise.

Asked why, if his intentions were peaceable, he landed with so many men, deponent stated that Hawkins told him that the inhabitants of the town wished him to do so, for their defence later. From there they went to Cartagena.

Having arrived at Cartagena, Hawkins sent a man to the town to ask for water and subsistence for his ships, but the governor would give him nothing. Seeing that they would not give him what he asked, the general fired a few shots at the town and the fortress they had there, and the fortress and town fired an equal number of shots and so they exchanged shots.

The general heard that in an orchard on an islet in front of the town there was a well with water, and they went thither and got water, and in the orchard found a certain number of demijohns with oil and wine, and took them and carried them off, and Hawkins paid for them in linens delivered to a servant of the owner, who was there.

From Cartagena they made sail for Cape San Anton in order to disembogue and were delayed by contrary weather in doubling that cape. They went to the coast of Florida, looking for the Little Sea, seeking some port in which to repair the flagship, for she was leaking badly, and to refurnish and revictual, and could find none. They came into four fathoms off the coast. With contrary winds prevailing they arrived at The Triangles and one morning, being within sight of these islands but unable to come up to them, they sighted two sail and took one, of which vessels Francisco Maldonado was captain (p. 34) and the other fled.

They carried the said Maldonado to the flagship and the general asked him if there was any port thereabouts where he could dress his flagship and revictual his fleet in exchange for his money, and Francisco Maldonado told him he could careen at Campeche and there was plenty of maize and poultry, but he could not bring the flagship within a long league of land, for that was rough coast; but that there was also a harbour at San Juan de Ulua in this New Spain, and it was expected that the fleet would arrive very soon. The general replied that he would come to this port of San Juan de Ulua, for he thought he could trim his fleet in ten or twelve days and clear, and therefore he ordered Francisco Maldonado to remain aboard the flagship, and he held Bartolome Gonzalez, pilot, resident in Campeche, and made

sail for the said port of San Juan de Ulua, and en route took two vessels, aboard one of which was Agustin de Villanueva, burgher of Mexico City, whom the general ordered to be brought aboard his flagship.

Asked whether, when they were about to enter the port of San Juan de Ulua on Thursday, September 16, at noon, a small boat came out from the harbour to their fleet with passengers from the island, in the belief that theirs was the Spanish fleet, and so arrived alongside their flagship, in which boat were Martin de Marçana, lieutenant-*alcalde mayor*, and Francisco de Bustamante, lieutenant-treasurer of his majesty's royal revenues, deponent stated that it is true that in a boat these and other persons came out to the flagship at the time they were entering the harbour and when they had come aboard John Hawkins bade them feel no alarm, for he would do them no harm, and neither the general nor his men did any harm to any man aboard the three vessels they seized nor did they take anything from them; and that night he released the said Martin de Marçana, and he went to the city of Vera Cruz, and so they anchored in the port of San Juan de Ulua.

Asked whether, after they had anchored, the said John Hawkins landed on the island in the port with a force of soldiers, armed, and took possession of the island and port and of his majesty's artillery that (p. 35) was on the island and detailed a garrison in the port, and built works in certain parts of the island, based on a large house there called The House of Lies, deponent stated that the general did this; adding that he did it to safeguard his fleet that their cables might not be cut and the ships wrecked on the coast; that he did not do it to injure anybody. The next morning he saw appear off the port thirteen sails and then was when John Hawkins fortified himself in the port and took his majesty's artillery which was there, to assure his own safety, as deponent has set forth.

It developed that these sails were the Spanish fleet and with it came the viceroy. Negotiations were entered into by both parties and so the Spanish fleet anchored in the port of San Juan de Ulua, guaranteed by hostages which were

exchanged; and on Thursday, September 23, having seen that artillery was being placed and trained on his ships, and that there was much movement among the Spanish, Hawkins interpreted this to mean that they intended to attack him. On the said John Hawkins' order deponent went twice as a messenger to the viceroy and the second time the general seized him and threw him below hatches, tied hand and foot, and in chains, and about an hour later the battle occurred in which the Spanish fleet broke up the English fleet and the said John Hawkins fled in a shallop with the vice-admiral.

Asked whether, after they left from London with the said fleet, John Hawkins seized any Spanish or Portuguese vessels and took and looted them, and if he detained any men of their crews, deponent declared that he took no ships except those he has mentioned and that this is the truth.

His deposition being read to him, he confirmed it, being 25 years of age, and signed it with his name, and he made all this deposition in our Castilian language (p. 36) in such wise that he was comprehended.

Robert Barrett.

Before me, Luis Perez, his majesty's notary....

Document No. 29¹

[The Viceroy and *Audiencia* to the crown,
Mexico City, December 29, 1568.]

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Catholic Royal Majesty

... Late on Sunday, September 19, this royal *Audiencia* received a messenger from the city of Vera Cruz with despatches from the municipal authorities there, as your majesty will observe (for they are included in the report sent), which despatches stated that on the preceding Thursday, September 16, eight French ships had entered the port of San Juan de Ulua. According to information we received, these vessels had pretended to be the Spanish fleet.

That night all your majesty's judges assembled in council and resolved that Doctor Vasco de Puga should go down to the port in command of men to be raised in this city and elsewhere, and that he should hasten to Jalapa and there assemble his forces and proceed to the port. To this end artillery was sent forward in carts, and we took every other measure necessary, both to warn the fleet expected from Spain and to attack the enemy.

Next day we were advised by another messenger² from the *alcalde mayor* of Vera Cruz that the eight ships were English, that they were friendly, and had done no damage nor intended any, and that after they had anchored thirteen Spanish ships had appeared off the port, with which the viceroy had come, and that he had been informed that the vessels at anchor were English and had been proffered men to reinforce the fleet; and that he had made a certain truce with the Englishman and exchanged hostages.

To avoid expense we sent Doctor Puga word to return from the city of Los Angeles, whither he had arrived. He

¹ *A. de I.* 58-6-8, 1, not paged.

² This, logically, was the messenger who should have brought the *Audiencia* any communication Hawkins addressed to that court. Compare his own narrative, *The Principal Navigations*, x, p. 68.

did so. It was ordered that a captain with two hundred men he had raised there, and with others who might join him en route, should proceed to the port, to be of any possible service there.

The viceroy entered the port in peace and a few days later fought the Englishman and broke him up, as he will at greater length write your majesty, for this royal *Audiencia* knows nothing except what is reported in his account of it. Once the viceroy has arrived¹ in this city consideration will be given to measures to ensure the safety of that port.... *

Mexico City, December 29, 1568.

Catholic Royal Majesty, your majesty's loyal servants who kiss your majesty's royal hands and feet.

Don Martin Enriques.

Doctor Villalobos.

Doctor Horosco.

Doctor Vasco de Puga.

Doctor Villanueva.

Doctor Alonso de Oseguerra.

Doctor Pedro Farfan. (Rubrics)...

¹ Evidently the viceroy arrived between the time when this despatch was written and the time when it was signed; observe his signature to it.

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 1923 American Museum of Natural History, 77th Street and Central Park West, New York City.
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 1906 Andrews, Michael C., Esq., "Orsett," Derryvolgie Avenue, Belfast.
 1919 Anstey, Miss L. M., Room 53, India Office, S.W.1.
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 1847 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.
 1896 Cardiff Public Library, Trinity Street, Cardiff.
 1920 Cardinall, A. W., Esq., Springfield, The Weald, nr. Sevenoaks.
 1847 Carlton Club Library, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1899 Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
 1920 Carton, Alfred T., Esq., 76, W. Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1925 Cates, Dudley, Esq., 164, West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1920 Cathro, E. A., Esq., Longforgan, Dundee, N.B.
 1910 Cattarns, Richard, Esq., Great Somerford, Wilts.
 1926 Caviglia, Dr. Buenaventura, Jr., Calle Juan Carlos Gomez 1459, Montevideo.
 1847 Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.
 1910 Chicago, Geographic Society of, Field Museum, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1927 Childs, Louis M., 2nd, Esq., 1040, De Kalb Street, Norristown, Pa., U.S.A.
 1896 Christ Church, Oxford.
 1899 Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1913 Clark, James Cooper, Esq., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1927 Clarke, Rev. C. P. S., Donhead St. Andrew Rectory, Shaftesbury.
 1922 Cleeves, Charles E., Esq., Sproutes Farm, Coolham, nr. Horsham, Sussex.
 1928 Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.

1919 Coleman, H., Esq., 34-36, Golden Square, W.1.
 1928 College Club, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
 1929 Colombo Museum and Marine Biologist, Colombo, Ceylon.
 1847 Colonial Office, The, Downing Street, S.W.1.
 1899 Columbia University, Library of, New York, U.S.A.
 1918 Commonwealth Parliament Library, Melbourne.
 1923 Conkling, Roscoe P., Esq., Catskill, New York, U.S.A.
 1920 Converse Memorial Library, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., U.S.A.
 1921 Conway, G. R. G., Esq., Light and Power Co., Ltd., Apartado 124 Bis, Mexico City.
 1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, M.P., Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent.
 1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Vailima, Bishopstown, Cork.
 1922 Coombe, W., Esq., Messrs. Carson & Co., Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon.
 1924 Copenhagen, Royal Library, Copenhagen.
 1847 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
 1925 Corwin, A. F., Esq., c/o Standard Oil Company of New York, 26, Broadway, Room 1122, New York.
 1928 Cousins, Walter George, Esq., 89, Castlereagh Street, Sydney, Australia.
 1926 Cox, Edward G., Esq., University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
 1920 Cox, Major-Gen. Sir Percy Z., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Woodlands, Clapham, Bedfordshire.
 1920 Crandon, Dr. L. R. G., 366, Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1919 Crawshay, Miss Lisa F., Ferneherst, 1, The Park, Cheltenham.
 1923 Crowther, Dr. W. L., D.S.O., 180, Macquarie Street, Hobart, Tasmania.
 1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon.

D.

1913 Dalgliesh, Percy, Esq., Isla, Five Oaks, Jersey, C.I.
 1917 Damer-Powell, Lieut. J. W., D.S.C., R.N.R., "Merton," Southside, Weston-super-Mare.
 1925 Damon, Miss Mary, Moanalua Valley, Honolulu, Hawaii.
 1847 Danish Royal Navy Library (Marinens Bibliothek), Gröningen, Copenhagen, K.
 1912 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
 1908 Darwin, Major Leonard, late R.E.
 1926 Davidson, Major Howard C., U.S. Army A.S., c/o The Adjutant-General, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1925 Dawson, Ralph, Esq., Guaranty Trust Company of New York, 140, Broadway, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1911 Delbanco, D., Esq., 87, Victoria Street, S.W.1.
 1926 De Saram, Leslie, Esq., Brentham, Cambridge Place, Colombo, Ceylon.
 1919 Derby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., c/o Major M. H. Milner, Knowsley, Prescot.
 1899 Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A.
 1923 Dickson, Rev., P. L., The Grammar School, St. Ives, Hunts.
 1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France.
 1923 Dixson, William, Esq., "Merridong," Gordon Road, Killara, Sydney, Australia.

1918 Dominion Museum, The, Wellington, New Zealand, c/o High Commissioner, Strand.
 1919 Douglas, Capt. H. P., C.M.G., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
 1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library.
 1917 Durban Municipal Library, Natal (Mr. George Reyburn, Librarian).

E.

1924 East, Frank Russell, Esq., Thornleigh, Sandal, Wakefield, Yorks.
 1913 Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
 1921 École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoï, Indo-Chine.
 1905 Edge-Partington, J., Esq., Wyngates, Burke's Rd., Beaconsfield.
 1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.
 1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
 1920 Edwardes, H. S. W., Esq., Godshill, Fordingbridge, Hants.
 1847 Edwards, François, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
 1926 Elkins, William M. Esq., Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1925 Elvey, G. R., Esq., New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
 1922 Emerson, Miss Gertrude, c/o *Asia Magazine*, 468, Fourth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
 1919 English, Ernest E., Esq., "Seacroft," Esplanade, Fowey, Cornwall.
 1906 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1917 Essex Institute, The, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1923 Evans, Montgomery, 2nd, Esq., 900, De Kalb Street, Norristown, Pa., U.S.A.
 1928 Explorers Club, The, 544, Cathedral Parkway, New York, U.S.A.

F.

1922 Fairweather, W. Cranston, Esq., 62, Saint Vincent Street, Glasgow.
 1925 Fazy, Judge Robert, Richemont, Lausanne, Switzerland.
 1899 Fellowes Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1920 Ferguson, Henry G., Esq., 2330, California Street, Washington, D.C.
 1919 Fisher, Gordon, Esq., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.1.
 1925 Fison, J. E., Esq., 32 Divinity Road, Oxford.
 1896 Fitzgerald, Major Edward Arthur, 5th Dragoon Guards.
 1914 FitzGibbon, F. J., Esq., 228, Upton Lane, Forest Gate, E.7.
 1924 Flanagan, Hugh W., Esq., 28, Wessex Gardens, Golders Green, N.W.11.
 1925 Fontannaz, Frederick G., Esq., 9, Rumford Street, Liverpool.
 1924 Ford, Charles, Esq., 50, West 47th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1902 Foster, Francis Apthorp, Esq., Green Gates, Vineyard Haven, R.F.D., Mass., U.S.A.
 1893 Foster, Sir William, C.I.E. (*President*), 4, Reynolds Close, Hampstead Way, N.W.11.
 1921 Freeman, George B., Esq., Ker Mario, Grenofen, Tavistock, Devon.
 1927 Freese-Pennefather, H. W. A., Esq., Balliol College, Oxford.
 1920 Frere, Lt.-Col. A. G., 1/3 Madras Infantry, Cannanore, Malabar.
 1920 Freshfield, Douglas W., Esq., D.C.L., Wych Cross Place, Forest Row, Sussex.

G.

1926 Gathorne-Hardy, G. M., Esq., 30, Sumner Place, S.W.7.
 1920 Gauntlett, R. M., Esq., 55, Penerley Road, Catford, S.E.6.

1916 Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa, Italy.
 1847 George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
 1920 Gibraltar Garrison Library.
 1920 Gibson, Sir Herbert, K.B.E., Calle San Martin, 296, Buenos Aires.
 1920 Gilbert, W. L., Esq., Calle 25 de Mayo, No. 267, Buenos Aires.
 1901 Gill, William Harrison, Esq., Marunouchi, Tokyo.
 1847 Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
 1913 Glyn, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice, Albury Hall, Much Hadham.
 1927 Goldston, Edward, Esq., 25, Museum Street, London, W.C.1.
 1925 Gort, Lieut.-Col. The Viscount, V.C., D.S.O., M.V.O., M.C.,
 7, Albert Court, S.W.7.
 1919 Goss, Capt. C. Richard, Manor Farm House, Farnboro', Hants.
 1920 Goss, Mrs. George A., 30, Church Street, Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A.
 1919 Gosse, Philip, Esq., 25, Argyll Road, Kensington, W.8.
 1920 Gostling, A. E. A., Esq., Poulstone, King's Caple, Herefordshire.
 1847 Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany, c/o Dr. Ludwig
 Hantzschel & Co., Göttingen.
 1928 Government English School Union, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.S.
 1928 Grassi, Oscar D., 2 Via C. Domadoni, Trieste, Italy.
 1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 70, Scott Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1920 Grievé, T., Esq., Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.
 1925 Griffin, Arthur E., Esq., 1219-1221, Alaska Building, Seattle,
 Washington, U.S.A.
 1927 Griffiths-Letts, Frank E., Esq., 16, St. Johns Road, Golders Green,
 N.W.11.
 1899 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1847 Guildhall Library, E.C.2.
 1923 Guille-Allés Library and Museum, Guernsey.
 1887 Guillemand, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., The Old Mill
 House, Trumpington, Cambridge.

H.

1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich, U.S.A.
 1922 Haig, Lieut.-Col. Sir T. Wolseley, K.C.I.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King
 & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1919 Haigh, Ernest V., Esq., C.B.E., The Palace Hotel, Birkdale, South-
 port.
 1927 Haldt, Harry Peale, Esq., Birch Corners, Boonton, N.J., U.S.A.
 1847 Hamburg Commerz-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
 1922 Hamilton, Sir Robert W., St. Ermins, Westminster, S.W.1.
 1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammer-
 smith, W.6.
 1898 Hannen, The Hon. Henry Arthur, Rock House, Boughton Monchelsea,
 Maidstone, Kent.
 1928 Harford, Frederic Dundas, Esq., C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens,
 S.W.3.
 1924 Harlow, Vincent T., Esq., St. Paul's Vicarage, Stockton-on-Tees.
 1924 Harman, Capt. H. A., D.S.O., Education Office, P.O. Box 53, Accra,
 Gold Coast Colony.
 1906 Harrison, Carter H., Jr., Esq., 409, The Rookery, Chicago, U.S.A.
 1918 Harrison, Comdr. R., D.S.O., R.N.R., Morris Hill, East Cowes,
 I. of W.
 1919 Harrison, T. St. C., Esq., Little Hayes, St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland.
 1905 Harrison, Wm. Preston, Esq., 2400, South Western Avenue, Los
 Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1928 Hart, Henry H., Esq., 328, Post Street, San Francisco, U.S.A.

1920 Hart-Synnot, Brig.-Gen. A. H. S., C.M.G., D.S.O., Villa du Golfe,
Cap d'Antibes, Alpes Maritimes, France.

1847 Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

1925 Haslam, W. H., Esq., 8, Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.1.

1920 Hawkes, Capt. W. Blackburne, The Mines Office, Batu Gagah,
Perak, F.M.S.

1913 Hay, E. Alan, Esq., Bengeo House, Hertford.

1919 Hay, G. Goldthorp, Esq., "Hampden," Royston Park Avenue,
Hatch End, Middlesex.

1924 Hazlett, Edgar C., Esq., 2, Montpelier Street, Dunedin, New
Zealand.

1887 Heawood, Edward, Esq., M.A. (*Treasurer*), Church Hill, Mersham,
Surrey.

1920 Hedley, Theodore F., Esq., 3, Elton Gardens, Darlington.

1928 Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Messrs. W., 4, Petty Cury, Cambridge.

1925 Helsingfors University, Helsingfors, Finland.

1921 Hemingway, Mrs. B. M., 45, Iddesleigh Road, Bournemouth.

1915 Henderson, Capt. R. Ronald,

1922 Hendry, C. A., Esq., 16, National Mutual Buildings, 69, St. George's
Terrace, Perth, West Australia.

1921 Hill, Donald G., Esq., Mercantile Chambers, Plot No. 22, Graham
Road, Bombay.

1917 Hinks, Arthur Robert, Esq., C.B.E., F.R.S., Royal Geographical
Society, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.

1874 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., 8, Herbert Crescent, Hans Place,
S.W.1.

1920 Hobden, Ernest, Esq., c/o The Eastern Extension Telegraph Co.,
Manila, P.I.

1923 Hodgson, N. V., Esq., P.O. Box 18, Opotiki, New Zealand.

1922 Holstein, Major Otto, Apartado 1833, Mexico City, Mexico.

1913 Hong Kong University, o/o Messrs. Longmans & Co., 38, Paternoster
Row, E.C.4.

1899 Hoover, Herbert Clark, Esq., 8, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, Curator, Museum of Archaeology and
Ethnology, Cambridge.

1922 Hughes, T. E., Esq., The Nyasaland Motor Co., Ltd., Limbe,
Nyasaland.

1924 Hull, Lieut.-Col. F. R., Caixa Postal No. 4, Brit. Vice Consulate
Ilhéos, Bahia, Brazil.

1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.

1926 Hussey-Cooper, Commander E. M., R.N.R., c/o Lieut. G. Rawson,
Pasadena, St. Kilda Road, Melbourne, Australia.

1920 Hutton, J. H., Esq., Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam, India.

1928 Hyamson, Albert M., Esq., P.O. Box 437, Jerusalem, Palestine.

1915 Hyde, Sir Charles, Bart., The Moat, Berkswell, Nr. Coventry.

1920 Hyderabad, The Nizam's Government State Library.

I.

1912 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.

1899 Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., Cockenzie House,
Preston Pans, East Lothian.

1929 India, The High Commissioner for, 42, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.1.

1847 India Office, St. James's Park, S.W.1. [9 COPIES.]

1899 Ingle, William Brouncker, Esq., Saxes Plat, Rudgwick, Sussex.

1922 Ingram, Capt. W. H., Chake Chake, Zanzibar Protectorate.

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1919 Inman, Arthur C., Esq., Garrison Hall, Garrison Street, Boston,
Mass., U.S.A.
1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the, Temple, E.C.4.
1923 Institute of Historical Research, London University, Malet Street,
W.C.1.
1916 Ireland, National Library of, Dublin.
1922 Irish, H. J. H., Esq., 43, Pall Mall, S.W.1.

J.

1911 James, Norman, Esq., The James Lumber Co., P.O. Box D2, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
1920 Jeffery, Charles T., Esq., P.O. Box 1616, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
1922 Jeffreys, M. D. W., Esq., c/o R. Tredgold, Esq., 27, Belvedere Road,
Upper Norwood.
1907 Johannesburg Public Library, Johannesburg, S. Africa.
1847 John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode
Island, U.S.A.
1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
1847 Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
1910 Jones, L. C., Esq., M.D., Falmouth, Mass., U.S.A.
1922 Jones, Comdr. C. Harold, D.S.O., R.N., Penarth Yacht Club,
Penarth.
1927 Jones, Surgeon-Comdr. T. R. Lloyd, R.N., Royal Naval Hospital,
Haslar, Gosport.
1919 Jourdain, Lieut.-Col. H. F. N., C.M.G., Fyfield Lodge, Fyfield Road,
Oxford.
1919 Joyce, T. A., Esq., O.B.E., British Museum, W.C.1.
1922 Jupp, W. D., Esq., Aboyne, 13, St. Quintin's Avenue, N. Kensington,
W.10.

K.

1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kans., U.S.A.
1917 Kay, Richard, Esq., 1, Brazil Street, Manchester.
1929 Keith, H. G., Esq., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1898 Kinder, Claude William, Esq., C.M.G., "Bracken," Churt, near
Farnham, Surrey.
1890 King's Inns, The Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin.
1899 Kitching, John, Esq., Oaklands, Queen's Road, Kingston Hill, S.W.15.
1921 Klein, Walter G., Esq., 7, Eldon Road, N.W.3.
1923 Knickerbocker Club, 807, Fifth Avenue, New York City.
1913 Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam.
1910 Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Neder-
landsch Indie. The Hague.
1922 Kuala Lumpur Book Club, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.

L.

1922 Laithwaite, J. G., Esq., India Office, S.W.1.
1899 Langton, J. J. P., Esq., 61, West 108th Street, New York City,
U.S.A.
1913 Laufer, Berthold, Esq., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
1923 Layman, Eric, Esq., F.M.S.R., Constr. Dept., Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.

1919 Leeds Central Public Library, Leeds.
 1899 Leeds Library, 18, Commercial Street, Leeds.
 1899 Lehigh University Library, Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
 1893 Leipzig, Library of the University of Leipzig.
 1912 Leland Stanford Junior University, Library of, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
 1927 Letts, Malcolm, Esq., 27, West Heath Drive, N.W.11.
 1928 Levilliers, Sr. Don Roberto, Argentine Legation, Lisbon.
 1912 Lind, Walter, Esq., The Copse House, Surbiton, Surrey.
 1923 Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, Portugal.
 1847 Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool.
 1899 Liverpool, University of Liverpool.
 1921 Loch, E. R. A., Esq., 4A, Market Place, Beverley, E. Yorks.
 1911 Loder, Gerald W. E., Esq., F.S.A., Wakehurst Place, Ardingly, Sussex.
 1920 Logie, W. J., Esq., 90, Graham's Road, Falkirk.
 1847 London Library, 14, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
 1899 London University, South Kensington, S.W.7.
 1895 Long Island Historical Society, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1899 Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1899 Lowrey, Sir Joseph, K.B.E., The Hermitage, Loughton, Essex.
 1880 Lucas, Sir Charles Prestwood, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (*Vice-President*), 65, St. George's Square, S.W.1.
 1895 Lucas, Frederic Wm., Esq., 21, Surrey Street, Strand, W.C.2.
 1912 Luke, H. C., Esq., C.M.G., B.Litt., M.A., St. James's Club, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1922 Lund, K. Universitets-Biblioteket, Lund, Sweden.
 1898 Lydenberg, H. M., Esq., New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1924 Lynam, E. W. O'F., Esq., M.R.I.A., British Museum, W.C.1.
 1880 Lyons University Library, Lyon, France.
 1920 Lytton Library, The, M.A.O. College, Aligarh, India.

M.

1924 McAlmon, R., Esq., 12, rue de l'Odeon, Paris.
 1928 McCall, H.W.L., Esq., Standerwick, Northdown Avenue, Margate.
 1926 McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
 1922 McLean, C. M., Esq., 3, Chestnut Street, Binghamton, New York, U.S.A.
 1923 Maeder, P., Esq., Dornacherstr., 24, Basel, Switzerland.
 1908 Maggs Brothers, Messrs., 34, Conduit Street, W.1.
 1925 Maggs, Frank B., Esq., Farne, Christchurch Crescent, Radlett, Herts.
 1920 Makins, Capt. A. D., D.F.C., Royal Automobile Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1847 Manchester Public Free Libraries, Piccadilly, Manchester.
 1916 Manchester University.
 1921 Manitoba, University Library, Kennedy Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
 1919 Mardon, Ernest G., Esq., Sneyd Park House, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
 1919 Marsden, W., Esq., St. Andrews, Northumberland Road, New Barnet, Herts.
 1927 Mason, Major Kenneth, M.C., R.E., Surveyor-General's Office, 13, Wood Street, Calcutta.
 1847 Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154, Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

1905 Maudslay, Alfred Percival, Esq., D.Sc., Morney Cross, Hereford.
 1925 Mayer, Oscar G., Esq., 1241, Sedgwick Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1919 Mayers, Sidney F., Esq., 174, St. James' Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.1.
 1926 Mayes, Stanley M., Esq., British-American Tobacco Company (China), Ltd., 15-19, Connaught Road, Hong-Kong.
 1914 Means, Philip Ainsworth, Esq., Bluffens, Stockbridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 1922 Melbourne University, Central Library, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
 1923 Mellor, Ernest M., Esq., The Redlands, Uttoxeter, Staffs.
 1901 Merriman, J. A., Esq., c/o Standard Bank, Cape Town, S. Africa.
 1920 Merriman, Commander Reginald D., R.I.M., "Tremadoc," Smoke Lane, Reigate, Surrey.
 1911 Messer, Allan E., Esq., 25, Thurloe Square, S.W.7.
 1893 Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
 1899 Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan University Library, U.S.A.
 1920 Miller, H. Eric, Esq., 1-4, Great Tower Street, London, E.C.4.
 1847 Mills, Colonel Dudley Acland, R.E., 29, Pembroke Road, W.8.
 1921 Milne, George, Esq., Craigillie, Lonmay, Aberdeenshire.
 1896 Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
 1895 Minneapolis Athenaeum, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
 1899 Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.
 1899 Mitchell Library, 21, Miller Street, Glasgow.
 1927 Moir, William B., Esq., Galiano Island, British Columbia.
 1902 Mombasa Club Library, Mombasa.
 1899 Monson, The Right Hon. Lord, C.V.O., Burton Hall, Lincoln.
 1919 Montagnier, Henry F., Esq., Chalet Beau Reveil, Champéry, Salais, Switzerland.
 1921 Moore, Thomas H., Esq., Billown, Castletown, Isle of Man.
 1918 Moore-Bennett, Arthur J., Esq., Peking, China.
 1918 Moreland, W. Harrison, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., Bengeo Old Vicarage, Hertford.
 1919 Morrell, G. F., Esq., Avenue House, Holly Park, Crouch Hill, N.
 1893 Morris, Henry Ceoil Low, Esq., M.D., The Steyne, Bognor, Sussex.
 1899 Morrisson, James W., Esq., 540, W. Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1919 Morse, Hosea Ballou, Esq., Arden, Camberley, Surrey.
 1895 Moxon, Alfred Edward, Esq., c/o Mr. Francis Edwards, 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
 1920 Muller, W. J., Esq., Kuantan, Pahang, Federated Malay States.
 1926 Murray, Surgeon-Commander, W. H., R.N., Royal Naval Hospital, Haslar, Gosport.

N.

1913 Natal Society's Library, Pietermaritzburg, S. Africa.
 1899 Nathan, Lieut.-Col. Right Hon. Sir Matthew, G.C.M.G., R.E., The Manor House, West Coker, nr. Yeovil, Somerset.
 1920 National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1894 Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1909 Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A.
 1924 Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum, de Lairesse, hoek. Corn. Schuytstraat, Amsterdam.
 1913 Needham, J. E., Esq., The Prongs, Totland Bay, I. of W.
 1880 Netherlands, Royal Geographical Society of the (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap), Saxen-Weimarlaan 28, Amsterdam.

1899 Netherlands, Royal Library of the, The Hague.
 1847 Newberry Library, The, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1847 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society, Westgate Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 1899 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library, New Bridge Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 1920 Newport Public Libraries, Dock Street, Newport, Mon.
 1899 New South Wales, Public Library of, Sydney, N.S.W.
 1922 Newton, Prof. A. P., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
 1922 New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
 1899 New York Athletic Club, Central Park, South, New York City, U.S.A.
 1895 New York Public Library, 40, Lafayette Place, New York City, U.S.A.
 1847 New York State Library, Albany, New York, U.S.A.
 1921 New York University Library, University Heights, New York City, U.S.A.
 1894 New York Yacht Club, 37 West 44 Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1897 New Zealand, The High Commissioner for, 415, Strand, W.C.2.
 (General Assembly Library, Wellington, N.Z.)
 1922 Nicholson, Godfrey, Esq., Woodcott House, Whitchurch, Hampshire.
 1917 Nicoll, Lieut. C. L. J., Royal Indian Marine, c/o Director R.I.M.,
 Bombay.
 1911 Nijhoff, Martinus, The Hague, Holland.
 1922 Niven, C. Rex, Esq., M.C., St. Peter's Rectory, Dorchester, Dorset.
 1920 Noll, Maurice G., Esq., "Homeleigh," Woking, Surrey.
 1896 North Adams Public Library (c/o Miss A. B. Jackson), Massachusetts,
 U.S.A.
 1924 North China Union Language School of Peking, China.
 1917 Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.
 1899 Nottingham Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.

O.

1922 O'Connor, J. R., Esq., c/o Standard Fruit and Steamship Co.,
 La Ceiba, Honduras, C.A.
 1925 O'Hea, P. A., Esq., 4A, Calle de la Palma 45, Mexico, D.F.
 1919 Olsen, O. Grolle, Esq., Post Box 225, Bergen, Norway.
 1890 Oriental Club, 18, Hanover Square, W.1.
 1919 Oriental Studies, School of, 11, Finsbury Circus, E.C.2.
 1847 Oslo University Library, Oslo, Norway.
 1899 Oxford and Cambridge Club, 71, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1847 Oxford Union Society, Oxford.

P.

1911 Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1925 Pares, Richard, Esq., All Souls College, Oxford.
 1847 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rue de Richelieu, Paris.
 1847 Paris, Institut de France, Quai de Conti 23, Paris.
 1923 Parker, George A., Esq., 394, Roslyn Avenue, Westmount, P.Q.,
 Canada.
 1926 Parsons, Edward A., Esq., 901, Whitney Building, New Orleans,
 La., U.S.A.
 1880 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.

1926 Peake, Frederick Gerald, Esq., Amman, Transjordan.

1893 Peek, Sir Wilfred, Bart., c/o Mr. Grover, Rousdon, Lyme Regis.

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